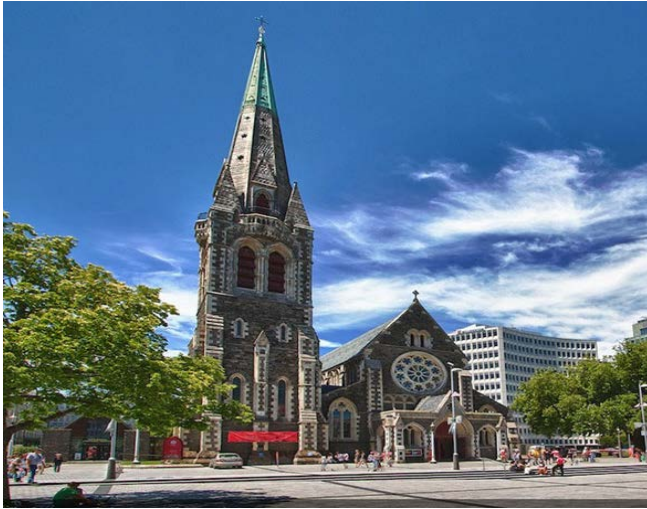


THE ONCE AND FUTURE CATHEDRAL



A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ANTHROPOLOGY

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated, in loving remembrance, to two remarkable people, whose traces remain in my head and heart, as well as through the pages of this thesis.



The Ven. Lynda Patterson 1974-2014

Lynda was the first female Dean of Christchurch. Her theological insights, superb preaching and robust Irish humour helped to guide the Church and Cathedral people through the hard post-earthquake journey. Thank you, Lynda. You are an integral part of the once and future Christ Church Cathedral.



Professor Patrick McAllister 1948-2016

Patrick's gentle encouragement and wisdom shaped my anthropological education for over ten years. He was my senior supervisor throughout this doctoral project and his penetrating questions helped me to clarify my objectives. Thank you, Patrick. Without you this thesis would not exist.

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ACRONYMS

ASA – Advertising Standards Authority

CBC – Church Building Commission

CBF – Colonial Bishops Fund

CCANZ – Council of Churches in Aotearoa New Zealand

CCC – Christchurch City Council

CCTV – Closed Circuit Television

CTV – Canterbury Television

CEO – Chief Executive Officer

CERA – Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority

CPT – Church Property Trustees

CWP – Christ Church Collaborative Working Party

CWS – Cera Wellness Survey

EQ – Earthquake series 2011-2011

GCBT – Great Christchurch Buildings Trust

HEC – Human Ethics Committee

HPT – Historic Places Trust

ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites

IPSE – Independent Panel of Seismic Engineers

PGC – Pyne Gould Corporation

PM – Prime Minister

TC – Transitional Cathedral

UC – University of Canterbury

USAR – Urban Search and Rescue

GLOSSARY OF MAORI WORDS

hīmene: song of praise or worship

iwi: extended kinship group, tribe

kaiwhakahaere: rector, supervisor, manager

karakia: incantation, ritual chant, prayer

moko: tattooing designs on the face or body done under traditional protocols

Ngā Puhi: northernmost Aotearoa/New Zealand tribe

Ngāi Tahu: major tribe of South Island

Ngāti Porou: North Island East Coast tribe

Otāutahi: Christchurch

pounamu: New Zealand greenstone

rohe: boundary, district, region, territory, area, border (of land)

runanga: tribal council or assembly

taonga: treasure, anything prized

tapu: considered prohibited or forbidden, such as the place where death has occurred

tangata whenua: local people, hosts, indigenous people.

te reo: the indigenous language

Te Wai Pounamu: South Island of New Zealand

tikanga: correct procedure, custom

tukutuku panel: ornamental lattice-work - used particularly between carvings around the walls of meeting houses

waiata: song, chant, psalm

whānau: extended family, family group

wharenui: Maori meeting house, large house

ABSTRACT: THE ONCE AND FUTURE CATHEDRAL

This is an ethnographic case study, tracking the course of arguments about the future of a city's central iconic building, damaged following a major earthquake sequence. The thesis plots this as a social drama and examines the central discourses of the controversy.

The focus of the drama is the Anglican neo-Gothic Christ Church Cathedral, which stands in the central square of Christchurch, New Zealand. A series of major earthquakes in 2010/2011 devastated much of the inner city, destroying many heritage-listed buildings. The Cathedral was severely damaged and was declared by Government officials in 2011 to be a dangerous building, which needed to be demolished. The owners are the Church Property Trustees, chaired by Bishop Victoria Matthews, a Canadian appointed in 2008. In March 2012 Matthews announced that the Cathedral, because of safety and economic factors, would be deconstructed. Important artefacts were to be salvaged and a new Cathedral built, incorporating the old and new.

This decision provoked a major controversy, led by those who claimed that the building could and should be restored. Discourses of history and heritage, memory, place and identity, ownership, economics and power are all identified, along with the various actors, because of their significance. However, the thesis is primarily concerned with the differing meanings given to the Cathedral. The major argument centres on the symbolic interaction between material objects and human subjects and the various ways these are interpreted. At the end of the research period, December 2015, the Christ Church Cathedral stands as a deteriorating wreck, inhabited by pigeons and rats and shielded by protective, colourfully decorated wooden fences. The decision about its future remains unresolved at the time of writing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the state secondary school that I attended (in another age), Bible readings and prayers were parts of each day's assembly. One prayer, sea-farer Francis Drake's, has remained with me, helping to shape my life:

Lord God, when you call your servants to endeavour any great matter, grant us also to know that it is not the beginning, but the continuing of the same, until it be thoroughly finished, which yields the true glory...

The 'call to endeavour' this study came immediately following the February 2011 earthquakes. It cannot now be 'thoroughly finished' without acknowledging and thanking all those who have been part of this undertaking.

My eleven 'retirement' years at the University of Canterbury (UC) have been richly satisfying, beginning with Carolyn Morris's encouragement to embark on the study journey. Each teacher contributed to the storehouse of knowledge drawn on for this project; my fellow students, too many to name individually - but especially I think of Birian Habte and all those in the post-grad lab – who have been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement; the office staff, librarians and the Café 101 baristas. IT and security people have provided amazing assistance, at times almost life-saving. Nathan Wear has always patiently and cheerfully explained the intricacies of the computer and helped to format the finished document into presentable shape. Particular acknowledgment and appreciation must go to my supervisors, Patrick McAllister and Lyndon Fraser. Without them, this project would never have come anywhere near to being 'thoroughly finished'.

I have received astonishing financial support with scholarships from UC and in my final year, a St Johns College grant eased the financial load. An incredible gift post-earthquake was the 2011 Trinity term, offered to forty-three of us by the University of Oxford. UC paid the airfares and Keble College generously accommodated me. I am indebted to all these benefactors.

My tutors in Oxford, Marcus Banks, Laura Peers and Dan Hicks broadened my appreciation of visual anthropology, the importance of history and heritage and the significance of material culture. My visit to former teachers Martin and Antje Fuchs in Erfurt added to my appreciation of their work, as well as reformation history, as we walked around that historic city. Remembering and thinking about that whole unexpected experience still warms my heart.

Then there are all those who have contributed as research participants—in focus groups, interviews, questionnaire responses, meetings or casual conversations. Added to these are the resilient staff and members of the Cathedral congregation, whose faithfulness over the past years is truly inspirational. Each person has added to 'the data', without which there would be no thesis. I am particularly

appreciative of those close to the controversy, some on the decision-making bodies, who spoke openly about what was going on, trusting me with their confidential information. The use of Nicky Lee's and Roger Marks's personal photographs have helped to illustrate the text. Margaret Neate, Annette Wilkens and Peter Hallinan earn my real appreciation for their careful proofreading. The insights and comments from readers David Coles, Rob Hallinan, Lynette Hardy-Wills and David Troughton proved to be most helpful. However, any errors and the conclusions from analysing all my data, are entirely my own.

Several wonderful friends have cheered me along, right to the home straight. I think of Hilary Barlow, Jill Ussher, Jennifer King, Rosemary and David Troughton. My sister, Jill Kersey has always listened patiently to my doubts and frustrations and gently prodded me forwards. They have each been significant companions on the journey. My long-term AWESOME (Anglican Women Exploring Spirituality on Monday Evenings) group of friends, right from the beginning, have made me feel that a floppy hat was not beyond the bounds of possibility, adding to this crazy notion with their interest and support.

No-one could be more blessed by family than I am. My children and their partners, Rebecca and Matt, Miriam and Paul, Christy and Spencer, Hamish and Nicky have offered constant interest and reassurance, debate and insight and have put up heroically with an often distracted mother. Each of my eleven grandchildren has added to my ongoing sense of purpose, joy and thanksgiving. Peter Hallinan, first known over fifty years ago, unexpectedly re-entered my life just as I embarked on my BA (Hons). Our marriage of six years, with Peter's companionship, his academic scrutiny of my writing, his financial backing, cooking of meals and frequent cups of tea, have been enormously encouraging and much appreciated. His family and their warm interest and support have added to an already phenomenal *whānau*.

To quote from the Biblical text 'I thank my God upon every remembrance of each of you'... Please share with me the delight that this mutual endeavour is now thoroughly finished. *Deo gratias*.

THE ONCE AND FUTURE CATHEDRAL¹

CHAPTER ONE: THE THESIS OVERVIEW

PREFACE

This is an ethnographic study, within the discipline of social and cultural anthropology, undertaken by a ‘native’ anthropologist. It tracks for five years the fierce public controversy about what should be done with Christchurch, New Zealand’s Christ Church (Anglican) Cathedral, severely damaged by a destructive 2010-11 earthquake series. The controversy concerns whether or not this church should be totally or partially demolished, reconstructed as a replica or rebuilt in a new design. It is framed by political, economic and emotive arguments. Two questions are addressed here: How did this contestation take shape over time? Why is this particular building the focus of such a longstanding unresolved dispute?

My thesis claims that this controversy is driven by the constructed meanings that people have for the Christ Church Cathedral; meanings forged through personal experiences; attachments which have ‘enchanted’ the building or particular artefacts; ontological views, such as the importance of the past in constructing the future; the validity and human propensity for making the absent present through the material.

Victor Turner² demonstrates how disagreements within a social context can lead to a defined sequence of acts that he calls ‘social drama’, with discernible phases and presentations. This schema initially appealed to me and proved helpful in seeking to describe and understand the particular course of events and some of the cultural performances involved over five or more years. It was essential to identify the main actors and groups involved, the particular actions along the way and the various efforts to resolve the conflict, which I consider revealed much of the nature of Christchurch society, albeit disrupted by the forces of the earth. Embedded within this drama are religious, social and political ideologies as they are played out locally, nationally and beyond in our globalised world. Whilst this dramaturgical approach is utilised

¹ J. Bluck, *Once and Future Cathedral*, www.blucksbooks.com: On demand publishing, 2012, Title used with written permission.

² V. Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society*, Ithaca, NY., Cornell University, Press, 1974.

to give an overview and some understanding of the saga and its trajectory -- who, what, when and where -- it proved inadequate in explaining and analysing just why it had happened.

My research demonstrated that peoples' actions were determined by what mattered to them, in other words, the various meanings that they had constructed for the Cathedral. Thus, as will be seen, the material culture arguments became very significant. It was also necessary to identify a variety of intermingling discourses that have, in my opinion, contributed to pitting the Anglican Church and its decision-makers against strong protagonists and fluctuating Christchurch public opinion. Primarily

Thus, this work

- traces the Cathedral's beginnings and its significance in the colonial founding of Christchurch - the discourse of history, heritage and patrimony;
- notes the significance of the building's placement in the centre of the city - the discourse of landmark, place and space;
- outlines the Cathedral's status in the branding of the city and importance to the tourist industry - the discourse of communal identity and neo-liberal economics;
- chronicles the physical and psychological effects of the earthquakes - the discourse of trauma and loss and ontological security;
- briefly describes New Zealand's central and local government and judiciary and the international and local structures of the Anglican Church - the discourse of governance and ownership;
- shows some people's perceptions of the influence of the strong Canadian woman bishop, the local leader of the Anglican Church - the discourse of leadership style, xenophobia and misogyny;
- demonstrates the significance of the symbolic nature and materiality of the Cathedral and its contents in shaping the identity, experiences and memories of Christchurch citizens - the discourse of identity, memory, attachment and the agency given to material objects.

Each of these discourses will be considered and interwoven throughout this ethnography because of their salience in contributing to the thesis. Crucial to my main argument is the recognition of the symbolic nature of this neo-Gothic church, its many voices and the ways people interpreted and interacted with it; in other words, the meanings it has for individuals and groups of people. I argue that whilst this could be seen as a contest of power, it is basically a contest of meaning. However, the Church's refusal at first to dialogue meaningfully with those seeking restoration, in order to collaboratively seek a way forward, heightened the estrangement, whilst vilification of the Bishop and legal action did nothing to

ease the situation. All this led to firmly entrenched opposing positions, requiring Government intervention with attempts at mediation to find a mutually agreed way forward. At the completion of my research period the situation remained unresolved, with no decision reached.

Many citizens of Christchurch, whatever their ontological belief systems, were deeply attached to the Cathedral. These attachments, to the building or particular artefacts, were formed through personal experiences or connections with the provenance of particular artefacts and gave many people a sense of identity and place.

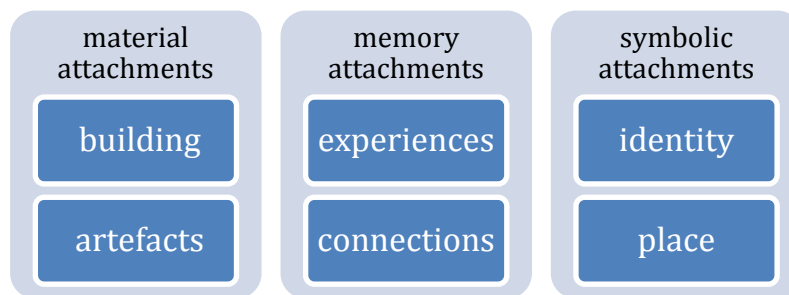


Figure 1: Diagram of types of attachments

These attachments could be largely subconscious and not appreciated until the threatened loss of the material object at their centre, the Cathedral. This sense of attachment was heightened because so much else was lost in the earthquake. In practically every interview, I heard stories of these attachments or connections and the meaning given either to the Cathedral itself or to some of its artefacts.

The principle argument of the thesis is that this deep sense of attachment, with its differing meanings, as revealed in my research, was either not sufficiently appreciated and taken into account or at least adequately expressed by the decision-making bodies of the Church. Their approach appeared to be rational/cognitive, relying on issues of safety, functionality and economics, whilst that of many protesters was initially emotional/affective, though later moved to the heritage argument.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

In this chapter I introduce and defend myself as ‘an anthropologist at home’, with its particular advantages and limitations. The two-fold nature of the project - the questions asked, and the methods used to find answers are then surveyed. The final section of the

chapter details my literature review and the major theoretical orientations used to analyse the collected data and formulate the thesis argument. The principle discourses within the debate are reiterated, namely heritage ideology and the vital role of engineering and actuary experts, international agreements and precedents and local legislation; the significance of materiality, with attachment to particular objects, in individual and corporate identity formation; the role of social memory and the constructed meanings of landscape and place. All these issues may emerge following a major natural disaster, which I also argue, can disturb a population's sense of ontological security and wellbeing, provoking a renewed search for meaning.

In Chapter Two the context of the controversy is outlined by giving a brief historical overview of the Church of England, the British colonial enterprise with the establishment of Christchurch and the building of a cathedral. Some previous disputes surrounding the Cathedral and then its pre-earthquake place in the city will be highlighted before a description of the seismic sequence. By way of contrast, the experience of two other cathedrals is utilised. All these are important props in setting the scene for the social drama that I wish to describe.

Chapter Three introduces the principal actors of the drama, to show how the behaviour of the various protagonists is determined by their individual positioning and allegiances, their constructions of the meaning of the Cathedral and their interpretations of the actions of their opponents.

The way in which the controversy developed is detailed in Chapters Four and Five. Following Turner, a description is given of the discernible 'breach' in social relations, the 'crisis' that ensued and the various redressive actions employed by different parties. Included also are the major cultural performances utilised in the process of the drama, with an analysis of how they advanced or hindered the controversy.

The rituals of mourning and memorialisation are described in Chapter Six for two main reasons. Firstly they demonstrate the initial place of the Anglican Church as 'chaplain to the city' and then later show how this position changed, in part at least because of the Church's central involvement in the controversy. Secondly, and more pivotal to the thesis argument, they reveal the significance of landscape and place in the construction of identity, the agency of material objects, which take on symbolic meaning on such occasions and the importance of ritual in the shaping and reshaping of memory as argued by Hallam and Hockney³. I argue

³ E. Hallam & J. Hockney, *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, Oxford, Berg, 2001.

later that material objects may in fact ‘make the absent present’. That chapter is completed by an account of the Transitional Cathedral (TC), the building of which could be seen as a redressive mechanism, that is, as an effort to bring Church and city together in a restored or new way.

As already stated, one of my key arguments as to why the Cathedral’s future is contested is the importance of the meanings given to the building, because of the myriad connections, attachments and associations many people have with it. This is demonstrated in Chapter Seven where I give a synopsis of the artefacts within the building and their reported significance and fate. By detailing the trajectory of several objects in particular, the interconnectedness between people and things is shown, along with the agency given to material objects, with their symbolic significance in social memory and identity formation.

In the final chapter all the threads of the controversy are drawn together. The core discourses of heritage, materiality and attachment, social memory, place and landscape are summarised. Technologies of power and the effects of disaster on people’s ontological security are again brought to notice. Together all contribute, I would argue, to the reasons why the social life of the Cathedral took the course that it has done; why there was a Cathedral controversy.

AN ANTHROPOLOGIST AT HOME: CONNECTIONS AND CHALLENGES

Christchurch is my city, my home, where I received my schooling and professional education and where my four children and eleven grandchildren live. Although not my birthplace or where I am confined in the way described by Appadurai⁴ in his appraisal of the place of the native in anthropology, there is much to keep me there. I am a native in that in many ways I am part of and shaped by this city and its culture. My connections with Christ Church Cathedral are longstanding. It is where I worshipped, sang, preached and prayed numerous times; it is where I was ordained as a priest, baptised my grandchildren and gifted artefacts in memory of my deceased husband; it is where I was remarried, three months before the first of the earthquakes. Now, as an active member of the TC congregation, I share their hopes and dreams, disappointments and despair, living through five years of change and uncertainty. Could I be objective and detached enough when so much of what I observed and shared was subjective? Perhaps I could be relatively objective in writing up the history, but even then of course there is subjectivity in one’s choice of what to highlight. How would the people I

⁴ A. Appadurai, ‘Putting Hierarchy in its place’, *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol.3, Issue 1, 1988, p.36ff.

interviewed position me, particularly friends or former colleagues? Most importantly, how would my positioning affect my analysis? These questions often proved problematic.

Strathern⁵ has written about the ways in which study of changing contexts is affecting the production of anthropological knowledge whilst Jacobs-Huey⁶ reviews the literature on these emerging attitudes to the production of ethnographic knowledge, noting the possibilities and problematics of 'native' anthropology. She asks 'How native is a native anthropologist?' suggesting that because one is a native to the field under study, it does not mean access to or understanding of every part of it. I certainly found this to be true and whilst I speak the language of my religious participants, I did not necessarily appreciate the nuances of other's actions and verbal expressions. Jacobs-Huey also suggests that native anthropologists may be more persuaded than others to translate their work for a non-academic local audience. Even before this thesis is examined, I have been under pressure, which I have withstood, to write for the local newspaper, speak to groups and to eventually publish a book. The political implications of doing so could be large, simply because I would be positioned as an insider. Personal relationships could be at stake, depending on what I wrote or said. This kind of problem could be behind Knowlton's assertion that 'No-one can serve two masters; or Native Anthropology as an Oxymoron'⁷. In spite of all this, I suggest that I have been in a unique position personally and professionally, to explore the issues and to understand some of the dynamics of what was going on in this Cathedral dispute. Besides, I had almost unlimited access to participants⁸. I'm encouraged by Clifford's suggestion that students writing about their own culture may have new insights and understandings because of their positioning⁹. According to Pink, he compares ethnographic writing to fiction, which is a subjective representation of culture and experience. Consequently, she argues, 'Ethnographers should

⁵ M. Strathern, *Shifting contexts: Transformations in anthropological knowledge*. Proceedings of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth Conference, (4th: 1993: Oxford, England), London, Routledge, 1995.

⁶ L. Jacobs- Huey, 'The Natives are Gazing and Talking Back: Reviewing the Problematics of Positionality, Voice and Accountability among "Native" Anthropologists', *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 104, No. 3, 2002, pp.791-804.

⁷ D. Knowlton, 'No One Can Serve Two Masters: Or Native Anthropologist as Oxymoron', *International Journal of Moral and Social Studies* Vol. 7, No. 1, 1992, pp. 72-88.

⁸ Interestingly in retrospect, I did not consider seeking to meet with the Hon Gerry Brownlee ostensibly because of his perceived busyness. However, in retrospect I wonder if this had to do with personal shyness or sense of inferior social positioning. My father was working-class English and once remarked to me about a doctor I had invited to dinner-- 'What do you want to have anything to do with them for? They are not interested in the likes of us'. I am aware that I could have imbibed some of these attitudes.

⁹ J. Clifford & G. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press, 25th Anniversary edition, 1986, 2010.

write reflexively, in order to acknowledge the subjectivity and experiences on which their writing is based' ¹⁰. This I attempt to do throughout, whilst concurring with Todorova-Pilgova, that self-analysis involves the most complex cognitive processes, being both an intellectual and emotional effort. Drawing on Bourdieu¹¹, she suggests the duality of truth being both objective and subjective, gained through 'the initial application of other people's knowledge to one's own experience and through the hard-to-grasp typology of '*homo academicus*'¹².

Nevertheless, occasionally self-doubt emerged. Whilst listening to fellow students on their return from 'the field', I could doubt the validity of my positioning. I needed therefore to often consider where I stood as a researcher in a city I have lived in for over half of my life, amongst a 'tribe' of which I am a member, about an issue that has considerable personal resonance.

THE UNIVERSITY STUDY JOURNEY

Until 2004, my life had been richly fulfilling; nursing in Pakistan, Israel and Scotland, living as 'the other' and being challenged with issues of ethnocentricity and cultural relativism; nursing and teaching; raising a family; working as a Christian priest in a small town and in a large inner-city parish, often challenged by the boundaries between multiple identities such as priest, social worker, wife, mother, grandmother, neighbour, friend. Setting the boundary between my different identities became at times problematic. For instance, I refused to be the marriage celebrant for my children's weddings or to be my husband's spiritual advisor during his dying but somehow got called in to assist in my neighbours' messy marriage breakup. Years later this matter of identities and boundaries became relevant, particularly in interview situations, as I undertook doctoral research as an 'anthropologist at home'.

On official retirement as a church minister, I taught a government sponsored parenting and child disciplining skills program to new migrants and refugees. Kurds, Afghanis, Somalis and Ethiopians talked of their issues of identity and belonging, questioning which cultural rituals to insist upon within the New Zealand context. How do you make your son a good, Muslim, Somali, Kiwi citizen and which of your family and cultural rituals do you retain? This opened

¹⁰ S. Pink, *Doing Visual Anthropology*, London, Sage, 2001, p. 166.

¹¹ P. Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, Stanford, Cal., Stanford University Press, 1988.

¹² I. Todorova-Pirgova, ' 'Native' Anthropologist: On the Bridge or At the Border', *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, Vol. 8, No 2, 1999, p. 171.

my thinking to the potency of ritual in the construction of identity, so I planned to write a book for grandparents on the rituals that give children a sense of identity and belonging. I cold called to discuss this at the University of Canterbury's (UC) Anthropology Department. There I met great encouragement. 'Older students do well', I was assured, 'not being worried about hairdos or boyfriends'. The limitation of age, for me, was a possible hurdle. However, three years later I graduated with a BA, with an unexpected scholarship to finance BA honours.

My honours' year - 2010 - was totally unpredicted. A friend from fifty years back visited from Australia, we 'fell in love' and were married mid-year. I finished half my course before we purchased a beautiful home on one of the city's hill suburbs. Just before leaving with my sister to visit her family in Doha, Qatar, we had a house-blessing party. My youngest daughter, mother of three little children gave me a card to open on the plane. She was pregnant with twins! This completely unsettled me. 'Why am I doing all this study? I am an old woman - my daughter will need much more help. But - I have a scholarship to honour - I don't like not finishing something etc., etc.' *ad nauseum*. I decided finally to forsake academia and spend declining energy on an already approved project to create a children's chapel at the base of the Christ Church Cathedral tower.

CHANGE OF DIRECTION

Three days prior to flying home, at 4.30am (local time) on 22 Feb. 2011, my distraught niece, cell-phone in hand, whispered 'Auntie Pat, there's been a terrible earthquake in Christchurch'. Her family there was evacuating immediately, like thousands of others. We compulsively watched the television coverage, not knowing for thirty hours if all in my family were safe. In shock I saw the Cathedral tower falling. I heard the Cathedral Dean, Peter Beck, being interviewed by the BBC¹³. He told the world that the 'heart of the city is broken.' I listened to Mayor Bob Parker announce that the Cathedral would be rebuilt. 'We can't let it go,' he said, 'it does deserve to be rebuilt, stone by stone. It is a symbol of all those

¹³ BBC News, 'New Zealand: Fears after Christchurch cathedral tower collapse', 22 February 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-12538463>, (accessed 4 February, 2013).

¹⁴ Newshub, 'Christchurch Cathedral will be rebuilt-Parker', 3 News, 25 February 2011, <http://www.3news.co.nz/Christchurch-Cathedral-will-be-rebuilt--Parker/tabid/423/articleID/199790/Default.aspx#ixzz2g3bvCuV>, (accessed 4 February 2014).

that have gone before. We've lost a lot of things, but that is one we should not lose'¹⁴. This pledge later became the catchcry for those seeking restoration.



Figure 2: Christchurch Cathedral with My Friend, Sue Spigel Trapped in the Tower¹⁵

Watching raw footage of the Cathedral's destruction was intensely personal. I was hugely relieved to hear Parker's pledge. This emotional involvement in the fate of the building, and indeed with some of its contents, is one of the subjective positions that I bring to this thesis. I decided right then in Doha - instead of giving up university - to study the fate of this special building and its contents. Given the Cathedral's history, Christchurch attitudes and the city's power elites as demonstrated in previous rows over the building, it was not difficult to predict that there would be huge debate about any rebuilding or restoration program.

So, it was back to the books. My honours course was completed in the Trinity term at the University of Oxford, thanks to the incredible generosity of that university and my own. Canterbury and Anglican Church history was brought alive in fresh ways. I worshipped in Oxford's Christ Church Cathedral, after which my city is named¹⁶; I stood on the spot where the early martyrs of my Church were burned alive, their names now inscribed in my city's major squares; I visited Coventry Cathedral, which is often used as an example of a rebuilt

¹⁵ M. Mitchell, *NZ Herald*, 22 February 2011, image, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/image.cfm?c_id=1&gal_cid=1&gallery_id=116916#7389259, (accessed 4 February 2013).

¹⁶ Christ Church Cathedral itself was named after Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, although recently I was shown an old city map where it was called Cathedral of All Saints and learned from a personal conversation with historian Colin Brown that this was one of several early names for this building, which was dedicated on All Saints Day (1 November 1881).

cathedral; I saw restored others in Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig and Cologne. My husband and I returned to Christchurch as ‘earthquake refugees’, because our new home, later demolished, was made uninhabitable in the June 2011 earthquake. This had occurred as I sat blissfully unaware at my desk in Oxford.

Ruth Behar in *The Vulnerable Observer* makes the case, following Renato Rosaldo¹⁷, for anthropologists to utilise - in their fieldwork and writing - their own life experiences and losses. This I have attempted to do. ‘Cultural forms run deep into the rivers of being’¹⁸ she writes. Truly, Anglicanism - its history, rituals and traditions - runs deep into who I am, my sense of identity. As Bourdieu would say, it has formed my habitus. Undoubtedly this five-year experience of earthquake-aftermath has also contributed to my unique position in undertaking this project. This thesis makes clear that trauma and loss have had an effect on me along with the whole population of Christchurch and its environs. This fact, I argue, needs to be a significant consideration in any analysis of why the future of the Cathedral has proved to be so contentious.

THE TWO PHASES OF THE PROJECT AND MY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This project proceeded in two stages. In the first post-earthquake year, with thousands of aftershocks, the future of the Cathedral was very uncertain. Because I started to hear questions about the fate of particular artefacts and wondered about their significance to individuals, I sought answers to two questions:

- What was in the Cathedral and what happened to it? This required a documentation of the Cathedral contents; what was destroyed, retrieved and stored or put into use by the displaced Cathedral congregation and which objects remained in the Cathedral.
- Which artefacts held value to individuals and groups and why were they significant? I also wanted to find out which things would act as what Parkin calls ‘transitional objects’¹⁹, going with the congregation to the TC as tangible links to their past.

¹⁷ R. Behar, *The Vulnerable Observer; Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1996, p.70.

¹⁸ R. Rosaldo, *Culture & Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1989.

¹⁹ D. Parkin, ‘Mementoes as Transitional Objects in Human Displacement’, *Journal of Material Culture*, vol.4, no.3, 1999, Available from: Permalink, (accessed 3 June, 2012). See also D. Winnicott and J. Hardenberg, *The Child, the Family and the Outside World*, London, Tavistock, 1957.

My purpose was to gain an overview of people's attitudes to the building and its contents, becoming convinced that this could be significant in any future decision-making about the Cathedral, particularly in the light of the heritage discourse. Hence later my focus was on material culture and symbolic interaction.

The second phase of the project tracked, for the next four years, the controversy which followed the announcement by the bishop in March 2012, following the legal requirements of government, to 'deconstruct' the Cathedral to window sill level, to make it safe, allowing the retrieval of *taonga*²⁰ and time to decide the future. Because of the social unrest that was evident at that time and the sense of crisis that this announcement provoked, I decided on the theories of social drama to assist me in following the course of events. My underlying research question then became 'Why is this decision so contentious?' enabling an analysis of the reasons given by participants and in the media and the formulation of the thesis.

FINDING ANSWERS: THE RESEARCH METHODS

This is an ethnography - a qualitative research project - a long-term field study, utilising primarily participant-observation and in-depth interviews to describe a particular social phenomenon. I have sought to discover the underlying meanings revealed in the social drama that I describe. By Ortner's definition, this is 'an attempt to understand another life world using the self - as much of it as possible - as the instrument of knowing'²¹.

GAINING ETHICAL CONSENT

An early challenge was to obtain ethical consent for my project. For the first section of the research, this proved simple. I easily gained low risk consent from the UC Human Ethics Committee (HEC). Initially I had considered asking young people, particularly Cathedral choristers and servers, for their views on Cathedral contents. Realising this would put my project into the high-risk category, I decided against pursuing that line. However, several months into the research I wanted to find out what had happened to a *tukutuku* panel²² created

²⁰ *taonga*: treasure, anything prized, <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?keywords=taonga>, (accessed 23 June 2016).

²¹ S. Ortner, *Making Gender: The Politics and Erotics of Culture*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1996, p.281.

²² *tukutuku panel*: ornamental lattice-work - used particularly between carvings around the walls of meeting houses. *Tukutuku* panels consist of vertical stakes (traditionally made of *kākaho*), horizontal rods (traditionally made of stalks of bracken-fern or thin strips of *tōtara* wood), and flexible material of flax, *kiekie* and *pīngao*, which form the pattern. Each of the traditional patterns has a name. <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=tukutuku>, (accessed 23 June 2016).

to commemorate a previous bishop, the Rt. Rev. Allan Pyatt. It was suggested that I speak with Maori Bishop, the Rt. Rev. John Gray. In chatting with the Chair of HEC, I was warned that if I was going to do research with *tangata whenua*²³ I would need to apply for high-risk approval but first would need to speak with Maori about it. This is in accord with the HEC Policy – Research involving Human Participants. After two visits to Aotahi, the UC School of Maori and Indigenous Studies, suggestions that I speak with this person or that, all of who were unavailable and then after an unanswered e-mail to one possibility, I eventually arrived at the doorstep of the person who is now Chair of HEC. When I told him my dilemma, he ‘lit up’ and said incredulously, ‘Allan Pyatt was my grandfather!’ He told me that ‘Uncle Denis will know what happened to the panel’, and said ‘you don’t need high-risk approval for that’. Even at that early stage I was beginning to notice the connections between people, dead and living and material objects.

Gaining ethical approval for the second phase of the project proved more problematic. This was arguably more difficult, because the drama was underway and Cathedral issues were being contested in the courts. Also, as an ‘anthropologist at home’, many of the potential research participants would be well known to me. Because I am an Anglican priest and a member of the Cathedral congregation it was argued that I was too much of an ‘insider’ to attempt the observation and analysis of this ongoing and often vitriolic, litigious debate. As I show, this position has not been maintained without difficulty. Whilst low-risk approval was finally given, it does raise issues of how researchers involved in participant-observation are understood by ethics committee members and others who do not necessarily recognise the methodology and who may be risk averse. Lederman²⁴ has noted that ‘at home’ ethnographers inevitably run into difficulties with the ‘clinical biomedical model’ of ethics. Parry explains how the conflict over Alice Goffman’s 2014 ethnography, *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*²⁵, was opening a fresh debate in anthropology circles over longstanding dilemmas of ethnographic research: the ethical boundaries of fieldwork, the tension between data transparency and subjects’ privacy, and the reliability of one

²³ *tangata whenua*: local people, hosts, indigenous people - people born of the whenua, i.e. of the placenta and of the land where the people's ancestors have lived and where their placenta are buried.
<http://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=tangata+whenua>, (accessed 23 June 2016).

²⁴ R. Lederman, ‘The perils of working at home: IRB “mission creep” as context and content for an ethnography of disciplinary knowledges’, *American Ethnologist*, vol. 33, no.4, 2006, pp.482-491.

²⁵ A. Goffman, *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2014.

ethnographer's subjective account of a social world' ²⁶ . Researchers within other anthropology departments have encountered problems similar to mine in gaining ethical approval and are currently considering ways these might be addressed. I note that this issue was on the agenda of the *Moral Horizons*, Australian Anthropological Society 2015 Conference²⁷.

I found some difficulty in deciding the ethical boundaries of reporting a simple conversation that could contain gems of insight or being part of a meeting where various views were expressed. At times my husband accused me of 'gossiping', so I was encouraged by Turner's suggestion ²⁸ that gossiping is what anthropologists do. Interviewees and focus group members often expressed surprise and some amusement that they were required to sign a written agreement to being a research participant. Whilst all signed consent for anonymity, most, including the bishop, said they were not concerned about being anonymous, though several prefaced a few remarks within their interview with 'this would come into the confidentiality realm'. The public statements of some interviewees have been quoted. I have taken care not to include identifying comments from within my interview and focus group data except by specific permission. Nearly all, when asked, wanted some changes to their initial comments, mostly because they felt the quote reflected badly on their impressions or actions at the time. Conversely, important information was elicited in informal contexts. For example, before I began my research, I had a helpful conversation with Jane Teal, the Diocesan Archivist, herself an anthropology MA graduate and published writer. She later refused to be interviewed. Lynda Patterson (when Acting Dean) would not allow information about my project and questionnaire to be printed in Cathedral publications or websites. In both cases, it was because the pending court cases were causing anxiety or at least caution. On the other hand, it was extremely helpful to be able to assure some participants that the bishop had agreed to my interviewing anyone who could spare me the time. These are the kind of experiences outlined by La Fontaine:

If we do research 'at home', the social context may be a critical feature of our research; we are defined and constrained by others. My difficulties revealed the

²⁶ M. Parry, 'Conflict Over Sociologist's Narrative puts Spotlight on Ethnography', *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 12 June, 2015, http://chronicle.com/article/Conflict-Over-Sociologists/230883/?cid=gn&utm_source=gn&utm_medium=en, (accessed 20 June 2015).

²⁷ University of Melbourne, Articulation, https://articulation.arts.unimelb.edu.au/?uom_event=moral-horizons-australian-anthropological-society-2015-conference-the-university-of-melbourne, (accessed 13 April 2016).

²⁸ V. Turner, 'Social Dramas and Stories about them', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1980, p. 146.

*extent to which research may be hampered by organizational structures, whether or not their rules are either enforceable or enforced. A social scientist, however frustrated by this situation, ought to find it interesting*²⁹.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

For the reasons and opportunities outlined, my major research method was participant-observation, with useful insights into this method gleaned from Denzin and Lincoln³⁰ and Kawulich³¹. I kept field notes with reflections on what I saw, heard and experienced over the project's research years; attended the major earthquake commemorations, particularly noticing the role of Anglican hierarchy members and the significance of place and material objects; observed an early public 'Save the Cathedral' meeting when opposition to the Church's decision was growing; witnessed one of the court sessions, noting the way that institution works with its own particular ritual system. A UC Summer Scholarship gave the opportunity to attend planning meetings for the first-year earthquake commemorations and observe other remembrances. The following summer, another student, Birian Habte³² conducted research on the Cathedral debate, the findings of which contained a number of useful insights including her conclusion that the controversy was about social relations in the city, the variety of attachments that people had to the building and the ways in which space becomes place.

COLLECTION AND PERUSAL OF NUMEROUS MEDIA ARTICLES, LETTERS AND WEBSITES

Post-earthquake, there has been a massive amount of written, visual and audio material about the Cathedral, for example, over 800 pieces in Christchurch's major paper, *The Press*³³ as well as many radio, television and online comments, blog sites and websites. A Google search simply of 'Christ Church Cathedral demolition' has over 150 relevant results. For me, this points to a widespread engagement with the building's fate. As well, the national in-house *Anglican Taonga* magazine, the Christ Church Cathedral website and the Diocese of

²⁹ J. La Fontaine, 'Problems of doing research at home: Research on child witches in London', *Anthropology Today*, vol. 28, no.5, 2012, p. 21.

³⁰ N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, 2005.

³¹ B. Kawulich, 'Participant Observation as a Data Collection Method', in *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 6, no.2, 2005, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0502430>, (accessed 10 November 2012).

³² B. Habte, 'The Christchurch Cathedral Controversy: An Anthropological Analysis', (Unpublished), University of Canterbury, 2013.

³³ http://librarydata.christchurch.org.nz/web2/tramp2.exe/see_hits/A0m6o8vh.001?server=3home&start=820, (accessed 12 April 2014).

Christchurch's website and magazine *Anglican Life* provided important material. I deposited as many articles as I practically could, in the time available, into the NVivo software program for later interrogation. This was particularly useful when documenting the drama and tracking the various events and arguments. I was able to use this program to code and analyse the reasons for the controversy as given by participants. Some legal documents proved important for deepening my understanding; the Canterbury Earthquake Response Authority (CERA) Act (2011)³⁴, The Anglican Diocese of Christchurch Property Act (2003)³⁵ and the various court judgments e.g. *GCBT v CPT*, 3.12.13³⁶ and comments on these judgments.

FINDING OUT CATHEDRAL CONTENTS AND WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM

A part answer to 'What was in the Cathedral?' was first gleaned from Brown³⁷, McKenzie³⁸, Witt³⁹, and Thomas⁴⁰, who each gave descriptions and provenance of some of the more historical or aesthetic contents, but were not exhaustive. Early in my research, the Christchurch Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) released their 828 page 'Cathedral File' which contained a minute of the first meeting (29 September 2011) of the Christ Church Cathedral Collaborative Working Group (CWG), which stated that:

*apart for its obvious heritage importance, the Cathedral also held very strong cultural and iconic status for many people locally, nationally and internationally. X (name blanked out) likened the Cathedral to a child that the Diocese and Chapter would care for, wanting the best outcome possible while keeping the safety of people as the highest priority. 'Harvest the heritage before it rots and gets damaged beyond repair', a request by Y for the safe preservation of heritage items*⁴¹.

³⁴ New Zealand Legislation, Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act, Public Act 2011, no 12, 18 April 2011 www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2011/0012/latest/DLM3653522.html, (accessed 14 December 2014).

³⁵ New Zealand Legislation, Anglican (Diocese of Christchurch) Church Property Trust Act 2003, <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/private/2003/0001/latest/DLM121659.html>, (accessed 9 April 2015).

³⁶ Courts of New Zealand, *Great Christchurch Buildings Trust V Church Property Trustees & Acor*, 02 December 2013, <http://www.courtsofnz.govt.nz/cases/the-great-christchurch-buildings-trust-v-church-property-trustees-anor>, (accessed 12 March 2014).

³⁷ C. Brown, *Vision & Reality: Christchurch's Cathedral in the Square*, Christchurch, New Zealand, Christ Church Cathedral Chapter, 2000.

³⁸ G. McKenzie and The Friends of Christchurch Cathedral, *The History of Christchurch Cathedral (the Cathedral Church of Christ)* New Zealand, Christchurch, NZ, Alex. Wildey Limited, 1931.

³⁹ G. Witt, *People Commemorated in Cathedral Plaques, Tablets and Windows*, Christchurch, Cathedral Publications, 2000.

⁴⁰ B. Thomas, *Christ Church Cathedral New Zealand*, Christchurch, Christ Church Cathedral, 2006.

⁴¹ New Zealand Government, Christchurch Earthquake Recovery Authority, Christ Church Cathedral File, <http://cera.govt.nz/the-cathedral-file>, (accessed 05 May 2012).

In the minutes of its second meeting, the CWG noted a request for Cathedral staff to prioritise a list of contents and their location for controlled demolition/deconstruction, so that they could be retrieved safely⁴².

These meeting minutes indicate recognition of the importance of material objects but also indicate tension over what would happen to the building. Later, it appeared that the Church's actions did not match this initial voiced concern for the *taonga* or recognition of their significance and meaning, factors that I argue are core reasons for the controversy.

Inclusion in CERA's Cathedral file of the requested list of Cathedral contents proved an excellent resource for the beginning of my work. Later I learned that this list's primary source was a 'Terrier of the Temporal Possessions of Christ Church Cathedral 16.09.04'. This was invaluable in listing and tracing all the artefacts, then analysing their significance to individual people and groups.

INTERVIEWS, FOCUS GROUPS AND QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PHASE ONE OF MY RESEARCH

I conducted eight interviews and two focus groups with members of the Cathedral community to uncover retrieval stories and to learn which artefacts in particular were of personal significance. Cathedral staff expressed concern that even asking these questions could raise people's expectations for the ongoing life of some items. I realised then that there were differing views on the relative importance of material objects. Indeed, who would be brave enough or presumptuous enough to rank the significance of each artefact, though some, such as the organ or the effigy of the first bishop seemed to rank highly in importance? Further opinion about particular items was gained from a wider group through a questionnaire which was handed out at a 'Save the Cathedral' public meeting, gatherings of retired clergy and the Diocesan Synod, as well as being available on-line. Sixty-one people responded and their responses were collated and analysed. In Chapter Six I follow the trajectories of several artefacts to demonstrate their salience in the lives of individuals and communities, arguing the importance of material culture in human life.

INTERVIEWS FOR PHASE TWO

For the second part of the project I interviewed and voice-recorded forty-seven people, asking my primary question, 'Why do you think the Cathedral's future is so controversial?' For a number of them I also posed the question, 'What is your hunch about how it will end?'

⁴² Ibid.

Because I had some connections with many of the protagonists in the controversy, it was not difficult to meet with most of the key personnel. Only three people refused for personal reasons, one because of his membership of both the Cathedral congregation and one of the opposing groups. This illustrates the personal conflict experienced by a number of people that I did interview. Several participants were included by ‘snowballing’- ‘Oh you must have a chat with so and so’. Rather, it was difficult to decide the cut-off point for interviewing. With the exception of two interviewees, I did not include people from ‘the general public’ in my interviews but I read thousands of comments in the online media and poll reports from this constituency. Various published opinion polls attempted to gauge public opinion.

The interviews took place in the home or office of the participant or at the university. I did all the transcribing myself, although my husband worked on the first phase interviews. I found that transcribing the interviews gave me a much clearer appreciation of their content. The Appendix lists my interviewees, along with their various overt allegiances.

PERSONAL PROBLEMATIC ISSUES

As the study progressed, several issues proved problematic and challenging. I note three of these in particular. The first was my own emotional lability. My personal feelings swung from side to side, particularly in the project’s interviewing stage. When asked numerous times what my views were and what I thought should happen, I prevaricated. In the end I really didn’t know what I thought should or could happen. This, I believe, is indicative of the conflicting communications from the Church and government agency, the ongoing damage to the fabric of the building and the passage of time which inevitably brings to light different emotional and cognitive responses. A number of people on both sides of the controversy have told me that they have changed their mind as time moves on.

Two or three participants treated our interview as a confession, relating things I would rather not have heard, such as their ‘psychoanalysis’ of the bishop or their loss of faith because of their interpretation of her actions. These responses, I would argue, illustrate the common need to interpret and search for meaning in the behaviour of others, as outlined by George Herbert Mead ⁴³. One participant, ten minutes into our interview, dissolved into tears, ‘I’m sorry, Patricia. I just can’t do this. I’m sorry’. Others wanted to recruit me to their way of thinking, advancing strong arguments as to why the Cathedral should be restored or at least

⁴³ D. Miller, *The Individual and the Social Self: Unpublished work of George Herbert Mead*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1982.

reconstructed. One invited me to sign the petition demanding the restoration of the Cathedral. All these encounters had an emotional effect on me as researcher.

During my research period, Ven. Lynda Patterson - much loved theologian and newly appointed 40-year-old Irish Dean of Christchurch - died suddenly, after a brief illness. She was working inside the Cathedral during the Boxing Day and February earthquakes. Later, as Acting Dean, following the resignation of Peter Beck, she bore much of the decision-making load and ensuing controversy about the Cathedral. She led and supported the traumatised congregation, negotiated the planning and building of a transitional cathedral, lectured nationally and internationally, as well as dealing with her home—first made uninhabitable by the earthquake and then flooding in that part of the city. In response to my request to interview her, she had e-mailed me, ‘I am willing - though to be honest, pretty unenthusiastic about being interviewed about the Cathedral - I seem to end up talking to angry protesters whenever something else appears in the Press and I am largely over it’⁴⁴. Following her death, I found myself tapping into a pool of personal anger with everyone and everything that had subjected her to such ongoing distress, arguably confiscating her life. I needed to be aware at that time of the possibility of this colouring my attitude of blame, particularly towards the Bishop, who had appointed her to this demanding position.

My second challenge as an ‘at home’ participant-observer has been my casual friendship with and sense of loyalty to Bishop Matthews, in spite of the feelings expressed above. Each year priests, including those not in paid employment, pledge their allegiance to their bishop. I was a member of the 2008 Diocesan Electoral Synod and was amazed and delighted that we elected a woman to this role of providing leadership of the Diocese of Christchurch. In 1994 I was one of the first women appointed to the diocesan male hierarchy and had personally experienced some of the challenges I suspected she would encounter. The overt or covert sexist attitude of some men and women was not uncommon. Within the Diocese of Christchurch there are still those who do not agree with the ordination of women as priests, and certainly not as bishops. I wanted to support her, which I have attempted to do from the beginning.

A 1989 conference of over a hundred New Zealand Anglican ordained women concluded that ‘we are not ready for a woman bishop - it would kill her’. However, in 1990 Penny Jamieson was elected and consecrated as Bishop of Dunedin, the first Anglican woman diocesan bishop world-wide. As a personal friend, I was aware of some of the misogyny and challenges that

⁴⁴ L. Patterson, e-mail to PA, 10 June, 2014.

she faced. Commenting on Jamieson's autobiography *Living at the Edge*⁴⁵ one anonymous reviewer notes:

*Jamieson tackles the fundamental problem facing outsiders when they become insiders, or revolutionaries when they win power. How may power be exercised for the good of the community, without slipping into the hierarchical attitudes of the past, and how may power be exercised at all in a church of the poor, the marginalised and the outsider?*⁴⁶.

Matthews, as a Canadian woman, has been confronted with the same problem of exercising power for the good of the community, whilst faced with issues of misogyny and xenophobia as evidenced by many public comments and questions about her leadership and origins.

The third matter I faced was the challenging theological and spiritual issues embodied in this contest, producing for me conflicted feelings about the institution to which I have largely given my life. I watched the position of the Church changing within the city and sometimes privately agreed with particular criticisms voiced about the leadership. Occasionally a sense of shame at being identified with this seemingly belligerent institution crept in. I contend this is an issue faced by many within the Cathedral congregation and the Church, particularly those volunteers responsible for welcoming people to the TC.

Davidson suggests that the modern Christian church is seen and acts either as the 'chaplain to the nation', that is providing leadership, expertise and place in times of national or local grief or challenge - as occurred following the earthquake; or as the 'prophet at the gate', challenging unjust or corrupt leadership or structures⁴⁷. The Anglican Church in Christchurch, following their initial earthquake response, appears to have swung from being chaplain to the city towards a more prophetic, or what they would call 'mission focused' role. This will be demonstrated by various statements from Matthews, such as her core vision of 'Christ-centred mission' articulated in 2008. For some of my participants, this signals a more evangelical stance of the Church. For a number, this apparent change of the Church's position within the city, perhaps away from its 'Establishment' identity, was viewed as the most tragic effect of the controversy. I suggest, with Murdock⁴⁸, it could also herald a move globally

⁴⁵ P. Jamieson, *Living at the Edge: Sacrament and Solidarity in Leadership*, London, Mowbray, 1997.

⁴⁶ Fishpond (Website), anonymous review, <http://www.fishpond.co.nz/Books/Living-at-Edge-Penny-Jamieson/9780264674391>, (accessed 26 May 2015).

⁴⁷ A. Davidson, 'Chaplain to the Nation or Prophet at the Gate?', in J. Stenhouse (ed.), *Christianity, Modernity and Culture*, Adelaide, ATF Press, 2005, pp. 311- 331.

⁴⁸ G. Murdock, 'The Re-Enchantment of the World', in S.M. Hoover and K. Lunby (eds.), *Rethinking Media, Religion, and Culture*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997.

toward a more fundamentalist stance in the Abrahamic faith traditions of Jew, Muslim and Christian, arguably as a result of post-modernist trends.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANALYTICAL TOOLS

Initial inspiration for this project came from anthropologist Weszkalnys's⁴⁹ exploration of the reshaping of Alexanderplatz, following the reunification of Berlin. She clearly shows how this site became the arena for passionate public debate, controversy over its meaning and its place in the future of the city. Then Greenspan's⁵⁰ work on the political struggle to rebuild the World Trade Centre post 9/11, with the diverse meanings constructed for Ground Zero, pointed to the difficulty in negotiating a way forward for such a site following that disaster. Both writers demonstrate the multiplicity of factors, actors and discourses in such situations.

In this section I seek to show the major theorists contributing to my analysis and core argument.

'FIRST THE EARTHQUAKE, THEN THE DISASTER'⁵¹

New Zealand is situated on the 'ring of fire'⁵² so earthquakes are a known hazard⁵³. Whilst being potentially physically destructive, the effect of the disaster that may follow a major seismic event is interwoven with socially, politically and economically produced factors such

⁴⁹ G. Weszkalnys, *Berlin, Alexanderplatz*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2010.

⁵⁰ E. Greenspan, *Battle for Ground Zero*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2013.

⁵¹ P. Doughty, 'Plan and pattern in reaction to Earthquake: Peru 1970-1998', in A. Oliver-Smith and S. Hoffman (eds.), *The Angry Earth: Disaster in Anthropological Perspective*, New York, Routledge, 1999, p.235.

⁵² National Geographic Society (website), *Ring of Fire*, <http://nationalgeographic.org/encyclopedia/ring-fire/>, (accessed 6 June 2016).

⁵³ N. Britton, What have New Zealanders learnt from earthquake disasters in their country? *Disaster: The Journal of Disaster Studies and Management*, 1981, vol 5, no. 4, pp. 384-390. Available from Wiley Online Library. (accessed 2 May, 2016). Research conducted in New Zealand in 1981 suggested a lack of commitment by decision-makers and policy-makers toward the earthquake threat, and a lack of understanding of, and indifference to the same threat by the general public. This is not, however, unique to New Zealand.

as poverty, ethnicity, gender and age, according to disaster theorists, including Tierney⁵⁴, Tierney and Oliver-Smith⁵⁵, Oliver-Smith and Hoffman.⁵⁶

These influence a population's vulnerability, as is made clear in the outcome differences from similarly sized shakes in Haiti and Christchurch. In one place 200,000 people were killed, in the other 185. The difference in building codes between the two countries and their application was one important factor in influencing outcomes. As well as these physical factors, Norris et al.⁵⁷ have produced a comprehensive survey of the empirical literature on the psychological effects of natural and human created disasters and demonstrated the variability of vulnerability and effects on individuals in an affected population.

I want to note at this stage that, in my opinion, earthquakes can disrupt people's sense of ontological security and wellbeing. This, I contend, is a factor, initially at least, in people's vulnerabilities and reactions to the damage to the Cathedral. Laing describes ontological security as 'a sense of integral selfhood and personal identity, of the permanency of things, of the reliability and sustainability of natural processes, of the substantiality of others'⁵⁸. To utilise Massey's metaphor⁵⁹, it is difficult to remain grounded when the ground beneath one's feet keeps moving - literally. When the earth trembles, it is not only buildings and things on the pantry shelf that come tumbling down. Individual psychological⁶⁰, biological⁶¹ and social processes may all be disturbed. Giddens suggests that ontological security requires 'a sense of

⁵⁴ K. Tierney, *The Social Roots of Risk: Producing Disasters, Promoting Resilience*, Stanford, CA: Stanford Business Books, 2014.

⁵⁵ K. Tierney and A. Oliver-Smith, 'Social Dimensions of Disaster Recovery', *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2012, pp. 123-146, (accessed 02 March 2015).

⁵⁶ A. Oliver-Smith and S. Hoffman, 'Introduction: Why Anthropologists Should Study Disasters', in S. Hoffman and A. Oliver-Smith (eds.), *Catastrophe and Culture: The Anthropology of Disaster*, Santa Fe, NM., School of American Research Press, 2002.

⁵⁷ F. Norris et al., '60,000 disaster victims speak: Part I. an empirical review of the empirical literature, 1981-2001', *Psychiatry*, vol. 65, no. 3, 2002, pp. 207-39. Available in PERMALINK, (accessed 12 April 2015).

⁵⁸ R. Laing, *The Divided Self: An Existential Study in Sanity and Madness*, London, Tavistock Publications, 1960, p. 40.

⁵⁹ D. Massey, 'Landscape as a Provocation: Reflections on Moving Mountains', *Journal of Material Culture*, vol. 11, no. 1-2, 2006, pp. 33-48. Available JSTORE, (accessed 03 August 2014).

⁶⁰ C. Kiliç and M. Ulusoy, 'Psychological effects of the November 1999 earthquake in Turkey: An epidemiological study', *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, vol. 108, no. 3, 2003, pp.232-238. Available Wiley Online Library, (accessed 26 June 2016).

⁶¹ K. Kario, et al, 'Disasters and the Heart: a Review of the Effects of Earthquake-Induced Stress on Cardiovascular Disease', *Hypertension Research*, 2003, vol. 26, no. 3, pp.355-367. Available in J-STAGE, (accessed 24 June, 2016).

continuity and order in events, including those not directly within the perceptual environment of the individual'⁶².

By example of how earthquakes may disrupt ontological security, when writing about the massive 1970 Peruvian disaster, Doughty argues that individual wellbeing needs to be of primary concern in a disaster context. All the socio-psychological stresses involved in the disaster, such as loss of life, power, sewerage, landmarks can, he suggests, lead to 'pervasive insecurity, diminished self-respect...questioning of beliefs'⁶³. The New Zealand Government recognised this danger by setting up the CERA Wellbeing Survey (CWS)⁶⁴, an initial five-year study, to monitor the wellbeing of Christchurch citizens and to address identified negative aspects of the disaster. Different vulnerabilities have been demonstrated in this research, with health, ethnicity, income and housing being significant denominators. Five years later the mental health of some citizens, particularly children, was still a concern. Another of the findings has been an ongoing and, in fact, increasing dissatisfaction with some of the decision-making mechanisms in the rebuilding of the city: a factor relevant to my study as decisions on the Cathedral's future remain stalled, with anticipation of a resolution announcement being shifted from month to month, then year to year, adding to people's ongoing frustration.

'LET THESE STONES SPEAK': THE CATHEDRAL'S SYMBOLIC AND DISCURSIVE POWER

*the heart of the city is broken - it is our mother church - it is the symbol of all those that have gone before - it is the icon of the city – it is our identity - it is our place*⁶⁵.

Three days after the devastating February event, when it was assumed that there were bodies in the rubble of the Cathedral tower, a media headline announced 'Cathedral a symbol of

⁶² A Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991).

⁶³ Doughty, 1999, p.235.

⁶⁴ The CERA Wellbeing Survey (CWS) is a serial, cross-sectional survey repeated six-monthly (in April and September.) It is used to monitor a number of factors around peoples' lifestyle, attitude and wellbeing since the Canterbury earthquakes. The data collected and how it changes over time helps to measure the recovery process and gives social and other agencies an idea of emerging trends in community wellbeing and satisfaction with the progress. Results in the Sept. 2015 survey revealed that those less likely to rate their overall quality of life positively are: • Those who have unresolved claims at the property they own and usually live in (52%) • From a household with an income of less than \$30,000 (58%) or \$30,001 to \$60,000 (71%) • Living with a health condition or disability (60%) • Of Pacific, Asian, or Indian ethnicity (63%) • Living in temporary housing (68%) • Renting the dwelling they usually live in (71%) • Aged 50 to 64 years old (72%) <http://www.cph.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/cerawellbeingsurveyapr2015.pdf>, accessed 07 June 2016.

⁶⁵ All comments I heard or read to describe the Cathedral.

Christchurch survival’⁶⁶. Four years later it was said to be a symbol of negativity and all that was wrong with the rebuilding of the city, symbolising indecision and holdups⁶⁷. Or, as novelist Fiona Farrell has written:

*Whole and untouched, the cathedral in the Square, the old cathedral, spoke of beauty and the transcendent, but also of racial dispossession, spiritual colonisation, sectarianism and petty provincial snobberies and a whole raft of human shortcomings. In its ruined state, however, it rises above all this. It speaks of the Earth’s power and our insecure place in the great scheme of things. A flensed whale, it anchors the centre of the city effortlessly, delivering a sermon in stones*⁶⁸.

Christ Church Cathedral at its most basic is a material object, not very old by international standards, merely stones and mortar - that is, with ‘an external form and observable characteristics’⁶⁹. Nevertheless, it has been an important reference to the British imperial enterprise, linking Christchurch to ‘the homeland’ amongst a growing alien population. It was the venue of what Hobsbawm and Ranger⁷⁰ call ‘invented tradition’; events such as the annual floral festival, linking the Cathedral as city icon with the other ‘Garden city’ motif; or the Christmas Eve midnight Mass which linked it with Christmas traditions from England.

Obviously then the building is much more than a physical structure. Location, function, aesthetics, associations are all part of the makeup of what it is, how it is viewed, its meaning, its interpretation as ‘offered by specialists and laymen’⁷¹ as Turner suggests. Some descriptions are anthropomorphic. As Latour insists ‘*anthropos and morphos* together mean either that which has human shape’ - in the quotes above, ‘heart’ and ‘mother’ - or ‘that which gives shape to humans’⁷² - as in ‘identity’ or ‘survival’. The use of this kind of language I suggest reflects, but also influences, human-object relationships and may be used politically to further particular agendas, as will be evident in my work. Here we recall

⁶⁶ Newshub, ‘Cathedral a symbol of Christchurch Survival, 3 News, 25 February 2011, <http://www.newshub.co.nz/nznews/cathedral-a-symbol-of-christchurch-survival-2011022518#axzz4CHBWFPDe>, (accessed 23 June 2016).

⁶⁷ T. Law, ‘Christchurch Cathedral a symbol of negativity’, *The Press*, 30 June 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/69784941/christ-church-cathedral-a-symbol-of-negativity.html>, (accessed 23 June 2016).

⁶⁸ F. Farrell, *The Villa at the Edge of the Empire: One Hundred Ways to Read a City*, Auckland, Vintage, 2015, p. 115.

⁶⁹ V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, Ithica, NY, Cornell University Press, 1967, p. 20.

⁷⁰ E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² B. Latour, ‘Where are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts’, in F. Candlin, and R. Guins (eds.), *The Object Reader*, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon., Routledge, 2009, p. 237.

Turner's third property of symbols – their utilisation; the ways in which they are used by people in certain contexts and for particular agendas⁷³.

Gell notes that anthropologists have always been particularly intrigued by 'the ostensibly peculiar relations between persons and 'things' which somehow 'appear as' or do duty as persons'⁷⁴. The focus on agency is central to Gell's seminal work, as well as being important to Ingold⁷⁵, Latour⁷⁶, Law⁷⁷, Millar⁷⁸, and Bourdieu⁷⁹. Whilst I have not pursued an actor network or practice framework for this work, insights from these theorists are both salient and formative. Rather than view the Cathedral as an agent, which 'actively produces...identity'⁸⁰, I have focused on the meanings given it by human agents and how these meanings have been instrumental in human attitudes and activity.

The Cathedral then is a potent symbol that 'speaks', signifying many different things to different people - even changing its 'voice' over the course of time. It fits Ortner's definition of a key symbol, 'summing up, expressing, representing...in an emotionally powerful and relatively undifferentiated way'⁸¹ what the city means to many Christchurch citizens. For them, the Cathedral stood for Christchurch - its logo, its icon. Ortner also suggests that a symbol can have elaborating power, standing for different aspects of experience. Post-earthquake, the Cathedral has been used to elaborate on the traumatic earthquake experience, being termed 'the broken heart of the city' or 'symbol of negativity'. Its damage is said to stand for the city's destruction and people's personal and psychological suffering, as

⁷³ Turner, 1967.

⁷⁴ A. Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998. p. 9.

⁷⁵ T. Ingold, 'When Ant Meets Spider. Social Theory for Arthropods,' in C. Knappett and M Lambos (eds.), *Material Agency: Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach*, Berlin, Springer, 2008.

⁷⁶ B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005.
-----, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. C. Porter, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.

⁷⁷ J. Law, 'The Materials of STS', in D. Hicks and M. Beaudry (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, 2010.

⁷⁸ D. Miller, 'Materiality: An Introduction', in D. Miller (ed.), *Materiality*, Durham, NC. and London, Duke University Press, 2005, pp. 1–50.

⁷⁹ P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

⁸⁰ C. Tilley, *The Materiality of Stone. Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology*, Oxford, Berg, 2004, p.31, cited in S. Macdonald, 'Words in Stone? Agency and Identity in a Nazi Landscape', *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 11, No.1-2, 2006, p. 105. Available in JSTORE, (accessed 03, July 2014).

⁸¹ S. Ortner, 'On Key Symbols,' *American Anthropologist*, 1973, Vol. 75, No. 5, p. 1339. Available in Anthrosource, (accessed 12 April 2012).

consultant psychiatrist Alma Rae⁸² speculated. Others suggested that the Cathedral, with the bishop as lightning rod, became the focus of the city's anger at the earthquake. Certainly campaigners for its restoration claim 'restoring the Cathedral is very much about restoring the emotional heart of the city'⁸³.

Previously, the Cathedral for many had been a symbol of permanence and collective identity. It was always there, framing the city, its image present on every household's rubbish bins. It contributed to a sense of ontological security - stability and order, familiarity and predictability. Jones pertinently comments that:

*There is nothing like large, apparently permanent, physical presences to lend an air of stability to a place...From monuments to mountains, imposing physical objects help to give a place its local distinctiveness and identity, and in this way become totems for emotional attachment*⁸⁴.

Victor Buchli⁸⁵ expands on this idea, writing on how architecture shapes people and society, including even issues of governance, as has become evident in the Cathedral issues. He draws on the work of Marx and Foucault to show how architecture can shape both social life and power relationships, both factors evident in Christchurch. I have noted, utilizing the work of Bremner⁸⁶, how neo-Gothic architecture and cathedrals were part of Britain's colonial enterprise and they have certainly assisted in the shaping of Christchurch's post-colonial identity.

Tierney and Oliver-Smith argue that the destruction of such significant places and practices can undermine an individual and communal sense of self, with the danger that there is also a loss of purpose and meaning⁸⁷. Any work in recovery and reconstruction, they propose, needs to take these factors into account. Damaged and labelled with the metaphor of 'our broken heart', the Cathedral signifies this danger. Thus, as already stated, some contend that the restoration of the Cathedral is essential to the emotional healing and wellbeing of

⁸² A. Rae, 'Christ Church Cathedral needs to Stay', *The Press*, 29 July, 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/perspective/8975047/Christ-Church-Cathedral-needs-to-stay>, (accessed 06 May 2015).

⁸³ Restore Christ Church Cathedral (website), <http://restorechristchurchcathedral.co.nz/>, (accessed 02 September 2014).

⁸⁴ N. Jones, 'Of Trees and Trails,' in: N. Clark, D. Massey and P. Sarre (eds.) *Material Geographies: A World in the Making*, London: Sage/The Open University, 2008, p. 247f.

⁸⁵ V. Buchli, *An Anthropology of Architecture*, London, Bloomsbury, 2013.

⁸⁶ G. Bremner *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, c.1840-70*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2013.

⁸⁷ Tierney and Oliver-Smith, 2012.

Christchurch. Nevertheless, I argue that it is because there are differing meanings attributed to this core symbol that its future is so contested; why it has been given the power to disrupt social relationships, to challenge power elites and in some senses, to divide a city.

Initially I found Clarke's⁸⁸ situational analysis matrix extremely useful in plotting the diffuse elements of the saga and drew up a working chart from her significant items:

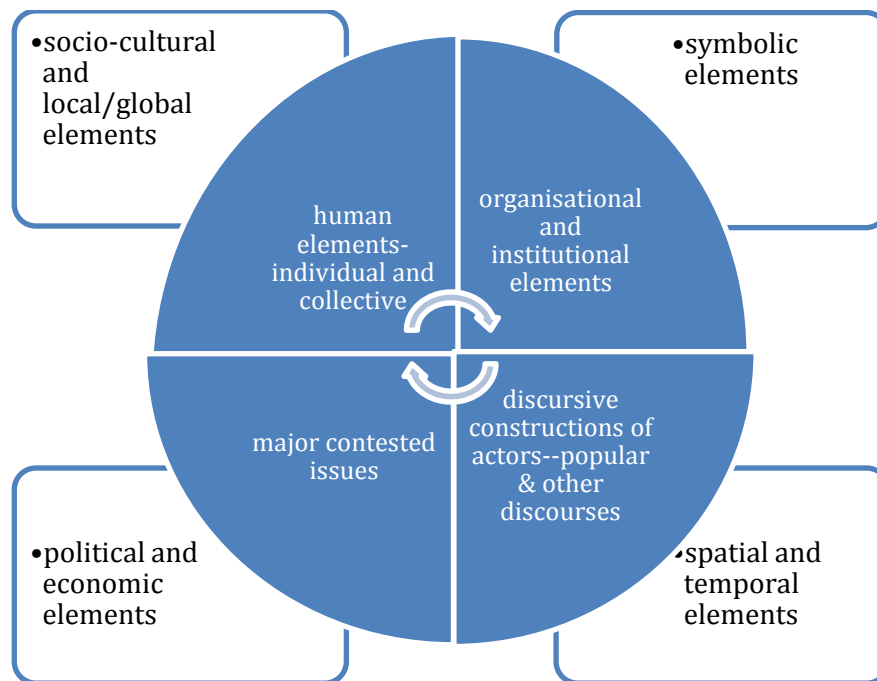


Figure 3: Diagram of Clarke's Situational Analysis Matrix.

This enabled me to give some form to what at the time appeared to be a tangled muddle.

Because of the Cathedral's demonstrable symbolic power and the way people have responded to its damaged state, my basic theoretical approach developed to that of symbolic and interpretive anthropology. Whilst Victor Turner is the major symbolic theorist I have drawn on, others such as Douglas⁸⁹ with her work on purity and danger, Ortner's writing on symbols⁹⁰ and Blumer's⁹¹ on symbolic interactionism have also been very important resources.

⁸⁸ A. Clarke, *Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn*, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage, 2005.

⁸⁹ M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London, Routledge, 1984.

⁹⁰ Ortner, 1993.

⁹¹ Blumer, 1972.

I have taken into consideration three of Turner's key ideas - the nature of a symbol and symbolic action; the four phase sequence of a social drama; and the significance of ritual performance. In his analysis of Ndembu ritual, Turner gives a crucial description of the structure and properties of symbols. Symbols, he says, may range from 'objects, activities, relationships, events, gestures, special units in a ritual situation'⁹². He notes that dominant symbols, which I claim the Cathedral to be, may become the focus of interaction and that 'groups mobilize around them, worship before them, perform other symbolic actions near them and add other symbolic objects to them'⁹³. All this is true of the Cathedral.

Furthermore, he argues that groups of participants mobilized in a social drama usually 'stand for important components in the 'secular social system''⁹⁴, a fact that is clear in my project where government agencies, heritage groups and media became intertwined. Turner then demonstrates how elements in the social system can become oppositional around the symbol, this opposition becoming part of the total meaning of the symbol. In my discussion of the actors and course of the Cathedral drama, it will be seen how these observations have played out in this situation.

Turner's ideas of the processual nature of a community dispute⁹⁵ have been used to track this controversy. Using dramaturgical imagery, he theorises this kind of social debate as a drama with four phases. The starting point is a 'breach', when there is a transgression of what is considered a social norm or particular rule by a person in a particular social field. Often that person will be the leader of a particular group and may consider that they act for the most altruistic of reasons. In the Cathedral case, I argue that Matthew's announcement of the decision to deconstruct the Cathedral, followed by her contention that she was not answerable to the public of Christchurch created the breach. This was in spite of the fact that her initial concern for human safety was incontestably important to a city reeling from sudden deaths and injuries. Community leaders, Turner suggests, may initially attempt to mend this breach by giving advice or offering mediation. In this case, the Mayor immediately stepped into the breach with an offer of assistance. If this intervention fails, a sense of 'crisis' amongst the affected parties follows and may spread rapidly. People beyond those immediately implicated begin to take sides. Various attempts to deal with the split and restore normal, harmonious

⁹² Turner, 1967, p. 19.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 22.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 24.

⁹⁵ Turner, 1974.

social interaction comprise the third stage of redressive action. This may involve religious rituals or the seeking of redress in the judicial system. It will be seen that both these things happened in the Cathedral drama and will be spelled out in detail in a later chapter. There can also be a regression back into a sense of crisis, which also occurred several times over the five-year period under consideration. Turner suggests that the fourth stage is either a social reintegration of those who have been separated or an irreparable schism. I have used this theoretical approach to describe the controversy, suggesting its usefulness in documenting and understanding the stages as they were lived out, whilst noting its limitations which are addressed in other ways.

In describing the drama, I have attempted to produce what Geertz ⁹⁶, following Ryle ⁹⁷, called ‘thick description’. Denzin⁹⁸ suggests that such writing goes beyond mere description but ‘presents detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another’. He claims that ‘in ‘thick description’ the voices, feelings actions and meanings of interactions of interacting individuals are heard’. Thus, by giving a rich description of various people and events, I have sought an interpretation of the behaviour of the drama actors and their various presentations, mindful of Turner’s warning,

*One “social drama”, as I have called an objectively isolable sequence of social interactions of a conflictive, competitive or agonistic type, may provide materials for many stories, depending upon the socio-structural, political, psychological, philosophical, and sometimes theological perspectives of the narrators*⁹⁹.

It became clear, as I progressed in tracking the controversy, that particular rituals or performances were central to the progress of what was going on. In seeking to understand these situations and the role that they played, I relied on Turner’s later work on performance, particularly that done in conjunction with Schechner¹⁰⁰, showing the performative and transformative nature of ritual. Meyerhoff et al.¹⁰¹ expanded the possibilities of considering ritual without Turner’s assertion of the requirement of the injunction of supernatural powers.

⁹⁷ C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York, Basic books, 1973.

⁹⁸ G. Ryle, *Concept of the Mind*, London, Hutchinson and Company, 1949.

⁹⁸ N. Denzin, *Interpretive Interactionism*, Newbury Park, CA. Sage, 1989, p. 83

⁹⁹ V. Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance*, New York: PAJ Publications, 1986, p. 33

¹⁰⁰ R. Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, vol. 2nd, New York, Routledge, 2006.

¹⁰¹ B. Myerhoff and S. Moore (eds.), *Secular Ritual*, Assen, The Netherlands, Van Gorcum, 1975.

They show that even when the religious element is stripped away, rituals in a secular context retain a legitimacy and potency without any supernatural component. In discussing some performances later, I will show the legitimacy of their understandings. In my analysis of some of the public performances, Goffman's dramaturgical ideas of 'impression management', 'front stage-back stage' presentations and the significance of role-playing¹⁰² were important.

I found it useful to supplement Ortner's and Turner's work on symbols and their meaning with Blumer's ideas on symbolic interactionism. This approach is based on Max Weber's core understanding that human beings act on their interpretation of the world and people around them: that action follows meaning, that meaning prescribes action. Blumer¹⁰³ draws on Mead's theory of 'self'¹⁰⁴ and Cooley's ideas of the 'looking-glass self'¹⁰⁵ to demonstrate the way that human beings indicate and interpret to 'self' that which is encountered beyond the self - be it things, other people or situations. Blumer's three basic premises¹⁰⁶ have shaped some of my thinking for this project. Firstly, he claims 'Human beings act towards things on the basis of the meaning that the things have for them'. These 'things' may be other human beings, institutions or objects in the environment. Finding out the different meanings people have constructed for the Cathedral and its contents has been an essential component of my work.

Blumer's second premise is, 'The meaning of such things is derived from or arises out of the social interaction one has with one's fellows'¹⁰⁷. In my descriptions of the meanings and values placed by individuals on Cathedral artefacts, because of the attachments formed with them, it will be seen how this works out in practice.

Blumer's third point is that 'Meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things encountered'. It has become obvious that the meanings that different people have for the Cathedral, along with the words and actions of key actors, have been interpreted by others in a variety of ways. This has, I will

¹⁰² E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971.

¹⁰³ H. Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall, 1969, p.1ff.

¹⁰⁴ D. Miller, *George Herbert Mead: Self, Language and the World*, Austin, TX, University of Texas Press, 1973.

¹⁰⁵ C. Cooley, *Social Process: Charles Horton Cooley*, Carbondale, IL, South Illinois University Press, 1966.

¹⁰⁶ H. Blumer, 'Social problems as collective behavior, *Social Problems*, 1971, vol.18, no.3, pp. 298-306. Available in JSTORE, (accessed 27 June 2016).

¹⁰⁷ Blumer, 1969.

argue, along with the political and economic influences, contributed to the trajectory of the controversy and the current impasse.

In my later analysis, I utilise Blumer's work on social problems, which he argues 'are fundamentally products of a process of collective definition, instead of existing independently as a set of objective social arrangements'¹⁰⁸. The future of the Cathedral has been constructed and defined - particularly in the media - as a social problem, to be solved by social actors using social means. In my opinion also, this contains truth but does not take into account the constructed meanings and the attachment to material objects, including the Cathedral, that this thesis demonstrates.

According to Blumer, a fivefold process is involved in solving such issues¹⁰⁹. Firstly, amidst all the other things that are going on, there is the emergence of a particular social problem that is then legitimated as such by the general public. The mobilisation of action by various parties and the formation of an official plan to deal with the problem then follows. The problem however is not solved until the official plan is implemented, albeit with changes from the initial plan. Blumer's theory of a social problem provides a valuable complement to Turner's social drama model, saying the same kinds of things in a different way. However, it seems to neglect his other considerations of the role of symbols, symbolic action and meaning in solving such problems, being more focused on political solutions.

INTRODUCING THE SIGNIFICANT DISCOURSES

There are a number of important and sometimes competing or subversive discourses within the Cathedral controversy. Each of these is dependent on one's ontological viewpoint, the meanings that have been constructed for this neo-Gothic building and the interpreted actions of individuals. Here I outline the principal literature informing my understanding of these discourses.

One of the most pervasive arguments for the preservation and reconstruction of the original Cathedral is *it is our heritage*, with the concomitant issues of patrimony - what we leave to our children and grandchildren. I will explain in Chapter Two why there is a strong argument for the Cathedral being part of Christchurch heritage and how in a sense it has assisted in the shaping of the ethos of the city. Currently in New Zealand, following international trends, the heritage value of a building is judged according to its context and the historical and social,

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 298.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, pp.301-305.

cultural and spiritual, architectural and aesthetic, technical and craftsmanship elements¹¹⁰. Each of these factors has become relevant when considering the Cathedral's future. In some respects, this project is a case study of this building's significance in what Lowenthal terms 'the heritage crusade'¹¹¹. This is a relatively recent global phenomenon, closely aligned with the rise of tourism with its economic and social implications. Certainly tourism and thus economic value is one of the arguments for retaining the Cathedral. Later, I give some attention to the discourse of heritage as advanced by Lowenthal¹¹² and Harrison¹¹³ and recognise the salience of arguments advanced by Smith on what she calls the 'authorized heritage discourse' 'based on the Western national and elite class experiences, and reinforcing ideas of innate cultural value tied to time depth, monumentality, expert knowledge and aesthetics',¹¹⁴. Six years on, the future of the Cathedral remained undecided. It could well be that this heritage discourse is the winning factor in the debate, because of state legislation around registered heritage buildings and their fate.

Allied to the heritage argument is another oft-repeated statement by members of the public in polls and on-line comments: 'the Cathedral is our identity, it is who we are'. Cerulo gives a synopsis of sociological perspectives on new issues being explored in both individual and collective identity formation, noting concerns about agency and self-direction¹¹⁵. I found this overview useful, particularly, for my purposes, her acknowledgment of Appadurai¹¹⁶ and others who examine the role of material objects such as art works, commodities and clothing in the process of personal identification. She quotes Zukin whose 'exploration of city structures uses objects to better understand the political, cultural, social, and economic

¹¹⁰ Christchurch City Council, '*Natural and Cultural Heritage, Appendix 8.3 - Heritage Statements of Significance*', Planning document, 2015, http://resources.ccc.govt.nz/files/policiesreportsstrategies/natural_and_cultural_heritage_section32_appendix8.3.pdf, (accessed 20 June 2016).

ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value Revised 2010, http://www.icomos.org/charters/ICOMOS_NZ_Charter_2010_FINAL_11_Oct_2010.pdf, (accessed 20 June 2016).

¹¹¹ D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

¹¹² D. Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Press, 1985.

¹¹³ R. Harrison (ed.), *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2012.

¹¹⁴ J. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, London, Routledge, 2006, p. 29.

¹¹⁵ K. Cerulo, 'Identity Construction: New Issues. New Directions,' *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1997, vol. 23, pp. 385-409.

¹¹⁶ A. Appadurai, 'The Social Life of Things,' in A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986.

contexts in which the objects are produced’¹¹⁷. This could be considered a succinct summary of part of what is attempted in this thesis. The object, the Cathedral and the dispute about its future can help us to better understand the political, cultural, social, and economic structure of post-earthquake Christchurch, as I note in the thesis conclusion.

In this thesis, I acknowledge the role of memory in identity formation, linked as it is with personal attachments to people, experiences, places and artefacts. Many participants recounted memories of previous events and associations with the Cathedral. I was interested to see how memory seems often to be jogged or enhanced by material objects, noting elsewhere my own sense of connection to a Cathedral flag and a chair because of their family associations. A fear expressed by some was that the loss of the Cathedral would produce a form of collective amnesia. As if in a personal protest against such a possibility and as Pickles has noted:

*Deciding that the cathedral should live on, citizens have, in very personal fashion created embodied memorials by tattooing its rose window on their arms, rebuilding models of the cathedral out of Lego, and crafting cathedral necklaces and rose window earrings*¹¹⁸.

A visual anthropologist could have a field day in researching all the ways images of this building, both in its original and damaged forms continue to be intertwined in the lives of the people of Christchurch and beyond. For instance, I was recently sent a photograph of a tapestry depiction of the damaged Cathedral, designed and worked by a Nelson woman for whom the Cathedral, even in its damaged state, has some resonance.

Halbwachs’s seminal work has clearly demonstrated that human memory is always socially constructed.¹¹⁹ He argues that memories are always acquired and able to be recalled within a social context, through membership of a group, be it a family or a nation. Different groups will select their own memories. They may use material objects, such as war memorials or rituals, such as anniversary commemorations or family reminiscences to recall their collective memories and reveal a little of who they are. Miller and Parrott’s work amongst people from a single street in London shows ‘how objects are used to create an economy of memory and relationships’ enabling, through divestment or display, an ongoing reassessment of which

¹¹⁷ S. Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991 quoted in Cerulo, ‘Identity Construction: New Issues. New Directions’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 23, 1997, p. 396.

¹¹⁸ K. Pickles, *Christchurch Ruptures*, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books Limited, 2016, p. 130.,

¹¹⁹ M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1972.

relationships and memories to either discard or keep.¹²⁰ I contend that disaster also creates such an opportunity, let alone necessity, for such reassessment.

Hoskins¹²¹ has demonstrated the impossibility of separating the histories of objects from the life histories of people. ‘People and things were so complexly intertwined that they could not be disentangled,’ she observed. This is one of the issues at stake in the Cathedral controversy, with different values placed on the materiality and significance as an identifier of this building. Each group’s collective memory means they will respond to circumstances differently and act accordingly.

Building on Halbwachs’s thesis, Connerton¹²² suggests that collective memory can be controlled for political purposes. Surely there is an element of this in the Cathedral controversy, as proponents argue fiercely that the preservation of the Cathedral and the memories associated with it are crucial to the identity of the city. Later in the thesis I utilise Connerton’s work such his assertion that collective memories are ‘conveyed and sustained by (more or less ritual) performances’.

Following the earthquakes, a number of people I spoke with commented on a sense of amnesia and disorientation in the city, with the loss of many of the landmarks. Some find this a distressing aspect of post-earthquake life and could partly explain an often heard reason for retaining the Cathedral, ‘We have lost so much. We cannot lose this’. In the disaster, it seemed this was one thing that could be kept and as one participant commented ‘If you could save it, why wouldn’t you?’ Mayor Parker was astute in announcing immediately following the February earthquake - in an effort to reassure the stricken population - that it would be rebuilt, stone by stone.

The Cathedral’s location in the centre of Christchurch is important and is arguably one reason for contrasting the lack of public debate over the more aesthetically pleasing and impressive Roman Catholic Basilica. Certainly the Anglican Cathedral was a recognisable landmark because of its situation and as one person said, ‘When someone said they would meet you outside the Cathedral doors, you knew where they meant’. I have noted that the Cathedral

¹²⁰ D. Miller and F. Parrott, ‘Loss and material culture in South London’, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2009, vol.15, pp. 502-509.

¹²¹ J. Hoskins, *Biographical Objects. How Things Tell the Stories of People’s Lives*, New York, Routledge, 1998.

¹²² P. Connerton, *How societies remember*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Square was considered to be the heart of Christchurch, albeit often contested and reconstructed. Tilley offers some important new concepts on space, place, landscape and perception:

*Landscapes are contested, worked and re-worked by people according to particular individual, social and political circumstances. As such they are always in process, rather than static, being and becoming ... palimpsests of past and present, outcomes of social practice, products of colonial and post-colonial identities and western gaze...places of...the contemplative sublime*¹²³.

Bender and Wilder contend that conflicts arise because people have different understandings, attachments and memories of such places and landscapes¹²⁴. These authors and Tilley (above) could have been writing about Christchurch's Cathedral Square and the church building that stood within it, because, as Lovell has noted:

*Belonging to a particular locality evokes the notion of loyalty to a place, a loyalty that may be expressed through oral or written histories, narratives of origin as belonging the focality of certain objects, myths, religious and ritual performances, or the setting up of shrines such as museums and exhibitions*¹²⁵.

Oliver-Smith and Hoffman have shown that disasters can 'highlight the power of place attachment'¹²⁶. This issue of the power of people's attachment to a particular place is pertinent because Christ Church Cathedral, described by Beck as 'our place', was an object of attachment for many people perhaps not recognised or enunciated before the earthquake. Cross has defined Setha Low's¹²⁷ work on this issue as involving a number of possible reasons, most of which were articulated one way or another by my research participants. For example, people cited their links with the building through their or family members' contributions to the fabric of the Cathedral or their own participation in its various religious

¹²³ C. Tilley, "Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage," *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 11, No. 7. 2006, pp. 7-32.

¹²⁴ B. Bender and M. Winer (eds.), *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, Oxford, London, Berg, 2001.

¹²⁵ N. Lovell (ed.), *Location and belonging*, London, Routledge, 1998, p. 1.

¹²⁶ Oliver-Smith & Hoffman, 2002, p. 5.

¹²⁷ B. Cross, 'Introduction' in I. Altman and S. Low (eds.), *Place Attachment*, New York, Plenum Press, 1992, pp. 1-12.

or cultural activities. In Chapter Six I illustrate the significance of place by detailing earthquake memorialisation, with its linking of place with disaster and loss¹²⁸.

Oliver-Smith and Hoffman also claim that ‘the process of negotiation between what has been lost and what is to be reconstituted generally involves tensions among diverse interest groups and values’¹²⁹. This is well demonstrated in the Cathedral controversy. Barbara Bender argues that landscape is a subjective notion, created by human experience, understanding and engagement with ‘the world out there’ and points out how different people or the same people at different times will have conflicting views and feelings about a place¹³⁰. Over five years, there has been a noticeable shift in some people’s views and feelings about the Cathedral and the emerging rebuilt city, which adds to the complexity of the situation.

To be a ‘Cathedral regular’ was undoubtedly to have a sense of belonging to a fixed, seemingly indestructible locality. For some, deeply involved almost daily in various paid or voluntary activities, this identity became a way of life, severely disrupted by the earthquakes and the destruction of the Cathedral. My work seeks to understand how these issues of place attachment are also played out as one explanation of the Cathedral controversy.

Theorists such as Hicks et al.¹³¹, Miller¹³² and Tilley¹³³ developed my understanding of ‘the material turn’ in anthropology, shaping my understanding of human/object relationality. I call on them because through my research, I became convinced of the salience of material things in social life, and the part that materiality played in the conflict over the Cathedral. I

¹²⁸ J. Cross, ‘Processes of Attachment: An Interactional Framework,’ in *Symbolic Interaction*, vol. 38, no.4, 2015, pp. 493-520.

¹²⁹ A. Oliver-Smith and S. Hoffman (eds.), *The Angry Earth: Disaster in anthropological perspective*, New York, Routledge, 1999.

¹³⁰ B. Bender and M. Winer (eds.), *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, Oxford, London, Berg, 2001.

¹³¹ D. Hicks and M. Beaudry, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010.

¹³² D. Miller, *Materiality*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2005.
_____, *Stuff*. Cambridge, UK, Polity, 2010.

¹³³ C. Tilley, ‘Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage’, *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 11, No. 7, 2006, pp. 7-32.

_____, *A Phenomenology of Landscapes; Places Paths and Monuments*, Oxford, Berg, 1994.

_____, (ed.), *Reading Material Culture. Structuralism, Hermeneutics and Post-Structuralism*, Oxford, UK, Basil Blackwell, 1990.

discovered that buildings, flags, windows, carvings or chairs could be potent in the shaping of a sense of identity, personal and collective memory and the actions of human beings.

Following the earthquake, many people recounted stories of artefacts that had been rescued from their homes and given increased meaning. Researcher Meagan Parker has written about the phenomenon, naming a salvaged glass wine goblet, which accrued new significance as a symbol of celebration and hope after its rescue ¹³⁴. One friend told me of a fallen mirror that did not break but left a dent in her wooden floor. She has deliberately kept both the mirror and the dent as tangible reminders of her earthquake experience. In the case of the Cathedral and/or particular artefacts within it, I soon had evidence to suggest the potency of the material interrelating with human actors. For instance, Lochhead argues strongly for the manner in which the Cathedral has linked the present with the past, calling it ‘our ancestral home’ ¹³⁵. It was full of objects in relationship with humans.

The loss or threatened loss of particular valued artefacts, those that for the individual or group are ‘enchanted’, in this case a Cathedral, produces distress of varying intensity. For instance, when I was in studying in Oxford, I sobbed and sobbed when I thought a St Francis garden ornament, given me by my grandchildren and labeled as ‘Nanni’s doll’ had been destroyed in the June earthquake. In my head I knew I could go out and buy an ‘identical’ one. But it would not be the same! The first was ‘enchanted’ as Bennett ¹³⁶ would suggest, imbued with ‘hau’ in Mauss’s ¹³⁷ and Salmond’s ¹³⁸ terms or to use Benjamin’s words ¹³⁹, it contained an ‘aura’. This material object was in a particular relationship with me that had been constructed by myself, my children and grandchildren and which went way beyond a machine-produced

¹³⁴ M. Parker, ‘Post Traumatic Detachment: The positive meanings associated with possessions after a crisis event’, unpublished Bachelor of Commerce Degree with honours in Marketing, University of Canterbury, 2012.

¹³⁵ I. Lochhead, ‘Connections to the past run deep’, *The Press*, 06 October 2014, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/perspective/10582612/Connections-to-the-past-run-deep>, (accessed 12 October, 2014.)

¹³⁶ J. Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2010.

J. Bennett, J., *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2001.

¹³⁷ M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, London, Routledge, 1971.

¹³⁸ A. Salmond, ‘Ontological Quarrels: Indigeneity, Exclusion and Citizenship in a Relational World’, *Anthropological Theory*, vol.12, no. 1, 2012, pp. 115-141.

¹³⁹ W. Benjamin and H. Arendt, *Illuminations*, New York, Schocken Books, 1986.
M. Hansen, ‘Benjamin’s Aura,’ *Critical inquiry*, vol.34, no.2, 2008, pp. 336-375.

plaster commodity. ‘Nanni’s doll’, somewhat cracked, now resides in our new home’s garden, having experienced its own ‘social life’¹⁴⁰, and with its own tale to tell.

Recent scholarship on the ‘Anthropology of Absence,’ (see Bille et al.¹⁴¹) explores the ways in which absence is performed and materialised. Throughout my work I have given examples – from personal experience and through stories told me – of how those who are absent are made present through the agency of relationships and material objects, be they chairs, flags or garden ornaments. Meyer calls this the ‘relational ontology of absence,’ and argues that absence leaves traces, ‘that always lead us into other places, other directions, other times; they are always incomplete, elusive, slippery and awkward.’¹⁴² In my opinion, the Cathedral not only pointed to the absent God but, through its artefacts, was full of the traces of absent people, be they the founding pioneers of the city, wartime heroes, previous worshippers or the loved ones of current descendants.

My argument is that the Cathedral is full of such material objects, each with its own set of relationships. Bishop Matthews has stated on a number of occasions that the Church is the people, not the building and that the Church is not in the museum business. I disagree on both counts as I seek to rationalise throughout this work.

Who owns the Cathedral, legally and morally and therefore who has the right to make decisions about it, is another ongoing discourse. In considering this aspect of the dispute I have needed to draw on Mauss’s work on gift exchange and the obligations of reciprocity¹⁴³. Many artefacts have been donated to the Cathedral over the years and millions of dollars have been donated towards its upkeep by individuals and city ratepayers. Strang and Busse’s¹⁴⁴ recent collection focuses on how property ownership is contested in various contexts and depending on cultural factors, whilst in her book *‘Thinking through things’*, Henare¹⁴⁵ offers similar thoughts. I would argue that many New Zealanders would concur with the Maori understanding of gift exchange as Durie argues:

¹⁴⁰ Appadurai, 1986.

¹⁴¹ M. Bille, F. Hastrup and T. Sorensen (eds.), *An Anthropology of Absence: Materializations of Transcendence and Loss*, Berlin, Springer, 2010.

¹⁴² Meyer, 2012, pp. 103-110.

¹⁴³ Mauss, 1971.

¹⁴⁴ V. Strang, V. and M. Busse (eds.), *Ownership and Appropriation*, Oxford, New York, Berg, 2011.

¹⁴⁵ A. Henare et al., (eds.), *Thinking Through Things. Theorising Artefacts Ethnographically*, Milton Park, Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2007.

*The important aspects of gift exchange for present purposes are first, that the gifts imposed powerful obligations on receivers to respect and to respond generously to the donors in the future and secondly, at heart was the cementing of ongoing relationships between peoples*¹⁴⁶.

One of the issues in the Cathedral controversy is what has been interpreted in the media and by some protagonists as a lack of respect and generous response from Matthews and Church authorities toward previous and possible future private and taxpayer donors. Failure to appreciate this cultural dimension is, I suggest, a significant factor.

Some research participants in Church positions interpreted the ongoing demand for restoration from campaigning groups as a bullying strategy, in a contest of power. Certainly various constellations of power are obvious in this contestation of place and ownership, as well as the controversy as a whole. For instance, there has been an obvious use of political knowledge and power by leaders of the protesting groups, of ecclesiastical power by Matthews, and legal power by the Courts. However, I would question an explanation of the controversy being only a contest of power, considering it much more multifaceted. To quote Gaventa:

*Foucault challenges the idea that power is wielded by people or groups by way of 'episodic' or 'sovereign' acts of domination or coercion, seeing it instead as dispersed and pervasive. 'Power is everywhere' and 'comes from everywhere' so in this sense is neither an agency nor a structure (Foucault¹⁴⁷). Instead it is a kind of 'metapower' or 'regime of truth' that pervades society, and which is in constant flux and negotiation. Foucault uses the term 'power/knowledge' to signify that power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and 'truth'*¹⁴⁸.

The 'regime of truth' is, I suggest, determined by various interpretations of what people consider to be 'the facts'. However, there is enough evidence, in this post-modern era to recognise that reality is always under construction and dependent on interpretation. Nevertheless, utilization of power/knowledge as in that of engineers and actuaries is a feature of the Cathedral debate, as is the understanding of 'Christian truth' enunciated by the bishop.

¹⁴⁶ Durie, E., 'Cultural Appropriation', in V. Strang and M. Busse (eds.), *Ownership and Appropriation*, Oxford, New York, Berg, 2011.

¹⁴⁷ M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*, London, Penguin, 1998, p. 63.

¹⁴⁸ J. Gaventa, *Power after Lukes: a review of the literature*, Brighton, Institute of Development Studies, 2003, <http://www.powercube.net/other-forms-of-power/2003foucault-power-is-everywhere/>, accessed 06 May 2016.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I introduce myself as a 'native' 'anthropologist at home' with its concomitant opportunities and challenges. The two phases of my project are then explained, along with the methods used to gather data and some of the particular difficulties faced in the research. I then review the pertinent literature interrogated and the theoretical approaches utilised in the analysis of the data relevant to the major discourses and the thesis itself.

The next chapter sets the scene for the controversy by demonstrating the place of the Anglican Church in the British imperial enterprise and the significance of the Cathedral in the founding of Christchurch. A description is then given of the 2010-2012 earthquake series which shook Christchurch and changed its face forever.

CHAPTER TWO: PROVIDING A CONTEXT- THE STAGE OF THE DRAMA

I think you have to know the history. If you don't know the history of the place it's going to be difficult to understand why it's controversial. (A research participant)

Christchurch, a city of 350,000 (pre-earthquake)¹⁴⁹ is the largest in New Zealand's South Island and is built on swampland and nearby hills. To give the context or background for the current debate, this chapter begins with a brief synopsis of the history of the Church of England (known in New Zealand as the Anglican Church, and in this thesis, the Church), the British colonisation of Canterbury with its 'imperial Gothic' and the founding of Christchurch. This contextual survey can create an essential understanding of the historic foundations of the Cathedral and its relationship to the State; the significance of its geographical placement; its role within the city and pre-earthquake social relationships. Previous arguments concerning the building are noted because they point to the pervasive influence of material objects in social relationships and demonstrate a civic interest in Cathedral affairs. The cumulative effects on the Cathedral of earthquakes from 1881 until the devastating 2010/11 series is outlined. This seismic event jolted and undermined the building and the population, along with local and national social institutions. The chapter concludes with noting the litigious experiences of the post-WW2 rebuilding of Coventry Cathedral and the post-earthquake repairs of Australia's Newcastle Anglican Cathedral – experiences and arguments which in many ways are reflected in those of the Christ Church Cathedral controversy.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The Church of England was formed as a result of theological and political differences, influences which it will be seen, continue to this day. In sixteenth-century Europe, Martin Luther had challenged Roman Catholic theology and practice by insisting that the Bible was the sole source of divine revelation. Salvation, he claimed, was by faith alone¹⁵⁰. This led to a Catholic-Protestant split. Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy in 1534 separated the Church in England from the Roman Church and made the reigning monarch the head of the Church of

¹⁴⁹ According to Statistics New Zealand, '348,435 people usually live in Christchurch City...Its population ranks 2nd in size out of the 73 districts in New Zealand. Christchurch City has 8.7 percent of New Zealand's population.' Statistics New Zealand, *2006 Census Quick Fact Sheet*, <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2006CensusHomePage/QuickStats/AboutAPlace/SnapShot.aspx?id=2000060>, (accessed 24 June 2016).

¹⁵⁰ R. Kolb, *Christian Theology in Context: Martin Luther: Confessor of the Faith*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009.

England¹⁵¹. This situation continues in England but not in New Zealand, where there was an early desire to create a separate Church and State. I argue that this separation is very significant in the current debate, because it limits the Government in assisting politically and financially.

There have been various attempts to revitalise the Church of England over the centuries. In the nineteenth-century, in response to the societal changes following the Battle of Waterloo and the societal disruptions of the Industrial Revolution, there were several significant initiatives of particular interest for my purposes. One such rejuvenation scheme occurred between 1818 and 1856. The British Government appointed a Church Building Commission and allocated £1.5m for the construction of 500 new churches. Port¹⁵² argues that the plan was to safeguard ‘the established order,’ or, as Carr puts it, the reform was ‘dedicated to the resurgence, through architecture, of the Church of England in the post-Waterloo era and, via a revitalised Church, to a renewal of British society itself’¹⁵³. I note here that a material object, a church building, was supposedly given agency in the reconstruction of a society.

John Henry Cardinal Newman and other University of Oxford academics spelled out another answer to the perceived need to rejuvenate the Church’s place in English society. They produced ninety controversial *Tracts for the Times*, written during the years from 1833 to 1841¹⁵⁴. They advocated a more historically ‘catholic’, ritualistic expression of Christian faith and were labelled ‘High Church’. Yates argues that Oxford Movement participants ‘were at pains to establish whether the Church of England was an essentially Catholic or essentially Protestant body, and came out very firmly in favour of the former’¹⁵⁵. This same tension is revealed also in the Cathedral controversy with some of my participants viewing the Cathedral as an essential bastion against the ‘happy-clappy’ Pentecostal inclinations of some sections of the Church.

¹⁵¹ T. Deverson, and G. Kennedy, (eds.), *The New Zealand Oxford Dictionary: Online Version*, (website), 2005, http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.canterbury.ac.nz/view/10.1093/acref/9780195584516.001.0001/m-en_nz-msdict-00001-0052804, (accessed 23 June 2016).

¹⁵² M. Port, *600 New Churches. The Church Building Commission 1818-1856*, Reading, UK, Spire Books, 2006.

¹⁵³ G. Carr, *The Commissioners’ Churches of London, 1818-1837*, vol. 1, London, University Microfilms International, 1976:1, vi.

¹⁵⁴ J. Tolhurst, ‘Introduction and Notes’ in J. Newman, *Tracts for the Times*, Chicago, University of Notre Dame Press, 2013.

¹⁵⁵ N. Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship, Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600-1900*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991.

A third response to the need for Church renewal was the Cambridge Movement, formulated at the University of Cambridge¹⁵⁶. The Cambridge Camden Society, from 1839-1868 published a number of influential pamphlets, *The Ecclesiologist*. These set out their ideas on church architecture and artefacts and were 'a broad application of Tractarian ideals in ecclesiastical design'¹⁵⁷. These architectural principles were gleaned from a careful study of mediaeval churches and their artefacts. Neo-Gothic architecture, which was considered more 'Christian' than the 'Pagan' classical style, became their preference. This Victorian Gothic Revival looked back, somewhat nostalgically, to medieval times, and claimed prominent artists such as the Roman Catholic convert, Augustus Pugin (1812-1852)¹⁵⁸. According to Webster and Elliott, Pugin influenced both the Oxford Movement and the Camden Society¹⁵⁹ and, as Andrews suggests, 'if not the sole creator of the Victorian Gothic Revival, he was the pivot around which it turned'¹⁶⁰. Pugin enthused and inspired George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878), architect of over 800 buildings including Christchurch's Anglican Cathedral. Crook claims that the stated object of the Camden Society, which was 'to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated architectural remains', was so successful that these ecclesiologists profoundly influenced the appearance and worship of every Anglican church in the world¹⁶¹. Again, one sees the linkage between a material object, in this case a neo-Gothic church and its trappings, and the construction of Anglican identity. Beyond this, in Christchurch, neo-Gothic architecture, as in the Arts Centre, museum, Christ College, the Provincial Building and the Cathedral, has been constructed as essential to the corporate identity of the city.

Another major initiative for reform came from Evangelical 'Low Church' adherents who laid emphasis on the Bible and personal conversion, being more the offspring of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation. The conservative Evangelical stream in the Anglican Church

¹⁵⁶ J. White, *The Cambridge Movement. The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962.

¹⁵⁷ Bremner, 2013, p.13.

¹⁵⁸ I. Lochhead, *A Dream of Spires: Benjamin Montfort and the Gothic Revival*, Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 1998.

¹⁵⁹ C. Webster, and J. Elliott (eds.), *"A Church as It Should Be": The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence*, Stamford, Shaun Tyas, 2000.

¹⁶⁰ B. Andrews, *Creating a Gothic Paradise: Pugin in the Antipodes*, Hobart, Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, 2002, p. 8.

¹⁶¹ J. Crook, *The Dilemma of Style; Architectural Ideas for the Picturesque in the Post-Modern*, London, Murray, 1987, p.13.

is currently exerting considerable influence within the worldwide Anglican Communion, threatening a world-wide split. Parishes within Christchurch Diocese are also threatening to become independent. In my opinion, this adds to the pressures on local Church leadership and decisions about the Cathedral situation. In this Evangelical movement there is heavy reliance placed on the Biblical text, an example of agency given to an inscription, with its imputation of sacredness.

The combination of the Tractarians and the Ecclesiologists (High Church) and the Evangelicals (Low Church), made possible a very significant renewal within the Church of England. Temple has noted that in the early Victorian age, this religious revival and its disputes affected every part of English society, a fact, he says, that is difficult to appreciate now:

*No party or movement could ignore the political significance of the debate between the evangelical and traditionalist factions of the Church of England, and further, between it and the non-conforming Methodists. The breakaway evangelicals had considered that Church and State, political power and ecclesiastical patronage were, throughout the whole structure of English social life, so interwoven that the Church had almost ceased to have a corporate identity and a corporate will*¹⁶².

One of the disputes at the time was over the Erastian doctrine that the State is superior to the Church in ecclesiastical matters¹⁶³. For example, in 1843, in opposition to the power of the State to appoint parish clergy, 386 ministers of the established Church of Scotland signed the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission. This led to the formation of the Free Church of Scotland¹⁶⁴. To reiterate, two issues at stake in Christchurch are the role of the State in deciding what should happen to Church property and the possibility of the separation of some of the Anglican parishes.

Bremner¹⁶⁵ has presented a compelling argument for the significance of High Church ideals and neo-Gothic architecture, culturally and spatially, in the British imperial enterprise.

¹⁶² P. Temple, *A Sort of Conscience. The Wakefields*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2002, p. 432.

¹⁶³ A. Chadwick, 'Erastianism', *Anglo-Catholic*, (website), 09 February 2010, <http://www.theanglocatholic.com/2010/02/erastianism/>, (accessed 14 July 2016).

¹⁶⁴ Stenhouse, J., 'Religion and society - European origins', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (website), updated 15-Nov-12, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/artwork/28387/establishing-the-free-church-of-scotland>, (accessed 14 July 2016).

¹⁶⁵ Bremner, 2013.

Underlying this argument was the belief that Britain's imperial mission was 'not concerned merely with developing the world commercially, as had once been the case, but with 'improving' it through the inculcation of the values of key institutions such as Christianity. People such as Rev Samuel Wilberforce and William Gladstone argued that the presence of the episcopal¹⁶⁶ Church of England in the colonies would be the best way of cementing colonists' loyalty to Britain. Although there had been Christian missionary activity in various British overseas territories from the early eighteenth-century, the Church of England and the British Government were seen to be remiss in caring for their far-flung members and indigenous populations. A way of resolving this was the establishment of the Colonial Bishops' Fund (CBF) in 1841. Bremner writes that the argument was that 'the spiritual needs of both colonists and converts were coterminous with their mental and moral well-being'. He notes that at the inaugural meeting of the CBF:

*The spiritual needs of the empire were, of course, at the top of the agenda but a number of those who spoke were keen to press further the temporal advantages that a full and consistent application of 'true religion' would bring to the security of the British empire*¹⁶⁷.

The CBF enabled the creation of more colonial episcopates as an integral part of the British colonisation project. This required the establishment in the new colonies of a diocesan structure after the English pattern. A bishop was to be appointed in each diocese, followed by the marking out of parishes, appointment of clergy and building of churches. Bishops required a *cathedra* (seat) and thus each diocese needed to build a place for it to be sited - a cathedral – in a city authorised as such by the monarch's 'Letters Patent', under the colonisation legal arrangements. The cathedral then became the central church of the diocese.

I include this and the history of British colonisation in New Zealand because I maintain they are essential elements in the argument that the Cathedral is a pivotal heritage item and needs to be preserved as such. The prevailing myth in this colonial city has been that it was English and Anglican, a reality which no longer holds true, if in fact it ever did. In an increasingly multicultural city with a significant Maori presence, the question could be asked 'whose heritage'?

¹⁶⁶ *episcopal*: governed by or having bishops,
<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/episcopal>, (accessed 25 June 2016).

¹⁶⁷ Bremner, 2013, p. 4.

BRITISH COLONISATION IN NEW ZEALAND

George Augustus Selwyn¹⁶⁸ was the first episcopal appointment under the CBF scheme. He was consecrated Bishop of New Zealand in 1841. Bremner has shown that Selwyn was well aware of the importance of architecture in the shaping of Anglicanism. Selwyn's initial plan was to build Norman style churches, following the evolutionary ideas of the time. This suggested that as church architecture in Britain had evolved from Norman to Gothic, so in New Zealand this should be replicated. This did not happen but is a further example of the attempt to shape identity by using a material object. Selwyn and other clergy following him were very influenced by the ideas - theological and ecclesiological - coming out of Oxford and Cambridge.

THE CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION AND THE FOUNDING OF CHRISTCHURCH

Englishman Edward Gibbon Wakefield persuaded a friend and well-connected Oxford graduate, Dublin born John Robert Godley, of the merits of his colonisation schemes. These were, as McAloon notes, 'to relieve surplus population and capital, and to transplant hierarchical English rural society overseas'¹⁶⁹. Godley was a visionary who, according to O'Farrell, 'exhibited the determination to create in the colonial world a society the reverse of Ireland, a society which reflected the lessons learnt from Britain's Irish mistakes, a dream capsule'¹⁷⁰. At a meeting in London in 1848, they formed the Canterbury Association with the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Bird Sumner as President. Blain has demonstrated, in researching the lives of each of the eighty-four Association members, that 'there are patterns of connection: family, friendship, political ambition, commercial interest, military and imperialist power, philanthropic idealism, Romantic fantasy, Christian commitment'. All were active members of the Church of England and most had clergy in their immediate families. However, according to Blain:

¹⁶⁹ W. Limbrick, 'Selwyn, George Augustus', from 'the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 30 Oct 2012, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1s5/selwyn-george-augustus>, (accessed 02 August 2016).

¹⁶⁹ J. McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, Dunedin, NZ, University of Otago Press, 2002.

¹⁷⁰ P. O'Farrell, 'Varieties of New Zealand Irishness', in L. Fraser (ed.), *A Distant Shore*, Dunedin, NZ, University of Otago Press, 2000, p. 29.

*the twenty seven prelates and priests of the Canterbury Association are on the whole from a social stratum below the other members...on the whole achieving members of the upper middle class rather than inheriting upper class*¹⁷¹.

The Association dreamed of a Church of England settlement, modelled on the English diocesan system, envisaging in their propaganda as Purchas quotes:

*Why should we not erect there a Cathedral, which may be a glorious rival of Westminster or of York? Why not send out a bishop endowed with the learning of Pearson or of Bull - with the piety of the sainted Wilson - with the gentleness of the accomplished Heber? Why not found a university, which may be no mean rival of the scholastic honours of Eton and of Oxford?*¹⁷².

As Webb points out, Godley and many members of the Canterbury Association were influenced by the Tractarians, 'but', he writes:

*the suggestion that the settlement was organized in the interests of the Tractarians or with special deference to their opinions is indeed baseless. Nevertheless, to the extent that the Canterbury Settlement was the result of a new spirit in the Church of England it owed a special debt to the Tractarians*¹⁷³.

Whilst this 'dream capsule' was never fully realised, it remained in the mythology of the city with some of my participants strongly of the opinion that the aspirations of the pioneers should be honoured, and that to build a different cathedral would in fact be dishonouring to them. This perceived need to revere the ancestors is not commonly heard in *pakeha*¹⁷⁴ New Zealand society, in my experience at least.

It should be noted that in the decade before the arrival of the Association's 'first four ships', there were already hundreds of settlers in Canterbury, known as pre-Adamites. Some were station-owners and traders, such as the Scottish Deans family who had arrived in 1840¹⁷⁵. Others prepared places in Lyttelton for the new arrivals.

¹⁷² M. Blain, *The Canterbury Association: A Study of Its Members' Connections: A Tribute on the 150th Anniversary of the Canterbury Settlement*, vol. no. 4, Christchurch, NZ, Archives Committee, Anglican Diocese of Christchurch, 2000, p. 3f.

¹⁷³ L. Purchas, *Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement*, Christchurch, NZ, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1909.

¹⁷⁴ L. Webb, 'The Canterbury Association and Its Settlement', in J. Hight and C. Straubel (eds.), *A History of Canterbury Volume 1*, Christchurch: Canterbury Centennial Association/Whitcombe and Tombs, 1957, p. 104.

¹⁷⁴ *pakeha*, a white New Zealander as opposed to a Maori.

¹⁷⁵ J. Phillips & T. Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2013.

The ‘first four ships’, *The Charlotte Jane, Randolph, Sir George Seymour* and the *Cressy* carrying 792 emigrants, dubbed ‘The Canterbury Pilgrims’, arrived in Lyttelton in 1850¹⁷⁶. Names of these families were later inscribed on the pavement in Cathedral Square and their descendents sometimes claimed a special place in Christchurch society. In the land survey, squares were named after Church of England martyrs - Ridley (later renamed Cathedral), Cranmer and Latimer. All the intersecting and surrounding streets in the central area were laid out in a grid pattern, and were named after British or colonial Cathedral cities e.g. Armagh, Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Lichfield, Manchester, Durham, Barbadoes and Colombo. Diagonally to the south-east lay Sumner Road (now High Street), presumably named after the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus, Britain, her religion and imperial enterprise were firmly inscribed on the land in Christchurch, Canterbury, New Zealand.

Early on, a site was set aside for educational and ecclesiastical purposes in the central square. This was to be for a cathedral and an Anglican Grammar School, modeled in the style of English cathedrals and Oxford colleges. In 1855 this reserve was transferred to the Church Property Trustees (CPT)¹⁷⁷ and formalised through *The Cathedral Square Ordinance 1858*. As will be seen later, these legal facts have become significant in contesting the Cathedral’s future. Godley returned to England in 1852. In his farewell speech, he acknowledged the utopian nature of the vision that had inspired him and others. He did not regret nor feel ashamed of the dream but rather ‘I am sure, without the enthusiasm, the poetry, the unreality, (if you will), with which our scheme was overlaid, it would never have been accomplished’¹⁷⁸.

FINDING A BISHOP

Henry John Chitty Harper accepted an invitation by Canterbury Anglicans to become their bishop. With his wife Emily and some of their fifteen children he arrived in Lyttelton on 23 December 1856¹⁷⁹. Harper’s son, Henry wrote to a friend:

My Father was duly enthroned, if I may use that phrase of a Glastonbury chair; his Royal Letters Patent were read out, defining the limits of his Diocese, now separated

¹⁷⁶ I. Lochhead, 1998, p. 50.

¹⁷⁷ New Zealand Federation of University Women, Canterbury Branch, *Round the Square: A History of Christchurch’s Cathedral Square*, Christchurch, NZ, Clerestory Press, 1995.

¹⁷⁸ J. Godley, ‘Farewell to the Canterbury Settlement’, in C. Hankin, (ed.), *Life in a Young Colony: Selections from Early New Zealand Writing*, Christchurch, NZ, Whitcoulls Publishers, 1981, p. 280f.

¹⁷⁹ Brown, 2000.

from the rest of New Zealand, which remains as Bishop Selwyn's Diocese. The Letters Patent declared Christchurch to be a "City," as the seat of the Bishopric, and are couched in just the same terms as similar Letters at home, but I fancy there must be some uncertainty as to their real scope. New Zealand is not a Crown Colony, such as the West Indies, but has its own constitution, its Governor, two Houses of Legislature, and within some broad limits complete power of self-government. The Church here is not established in the sense of Establishment at home¹⁸⁰.

The legal fact of its beginnings and the early imperial vision and propaganda that Christchurch be a Church of England settlement thus became a major defining narrative of the city. With this beginning goes the myth of Anglican supremacy, contested because Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and Roman Catholics formed strong and influential minority groups in the early history of the settlement, as demonstrated by Dunstall et al.¹⁸¹ and Fraser¹⁸². Nevertheless, one of the discourses in the current controversy is the ongoing perception of elitist power exercised by an amorphous group, colloquially known as ‘the old boys’ network’. These are men, usually but not inevitably educated at the prestigious Anglican school, Christ’s College or Christchurch Boys’ High School. Some descend from early pioneers and land owners. I have heard this group referred to as ‘the Establishment’, or the ‘self-appointed aristocracy’ and contrasted with the ‘Catholic mafia’ who, I have been told have considerable influence in Christchurch. These nomenclatures could be considered the material of myth but a number of my interviewees believed these groupings to be significant in the Cathedral controversy. A 2013 media article headlined the ‘Shaking up of the old boys’ network’, with the election of a woman vice-president to the exclusive Canterbury Club, which has up to 1000 members¹⁸³. Conversations continue to be sprinkled with references to the power of a small group of people in the city, a number of whom want the Cathedral restored, because of heritage values. Certainly, Church authorities I interviewed considered that they were being bullied by this network, but in this thesis I argue that there are other issues besides a contest of power.

¹⁸⁰ H. Harper, *Letters from New Zealand, 1857-1911*, London, Hugh Rees, 1914, p. 11.

¹⁸¹ G. Dunstall and J. Cookson, (eds.), *Southern Capital: Christchurch. Towards a City Biography 1850-2000*, Christchurch, NZ, Canterbury University Press, 2000.

¹⁸² L. Fraser, *To Tara Via Holyhead: Irish Catholic Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Christchurch*, Auckland, NZ, Auckland University Press, 1997.

¹⁸³ A. Wood, ‘Shaking up the old boys’ network’ in *Business Day*, 16 November 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/better-business/9406892/Shaking-up-the-old-boys-network>, (accessed 20 June 2016).

Even as the appointment of a bishop was fraught, so too was the building of his cathedral. From its inception, as Lochhead¹⁸⁴ and Brown¹⁸⁵ have demonstrated, the Cathedral has been the focus of many debates, both within the Church and in the wider society. Skinner has documented many of the initial arguments. For example, what design and which architects? Who should supervise it, Speechly or Mountfort? Where should it be built, as English Cathedrals generally were not in the centre of the city? Should it be built in wood, stone or iron? When should it be built, before or after parish churches? How should it be financed? Who would be the benefactors?¹⁸⁶ The Press editorial in 1864 asked:

Will they never leave the unfortunate Cathedral alone? Really the Cathedral Commissioners ought to do something to stop the public excitement. We do hope something will be done to appease the excited state of the public mind, or when the architect comes he will find the only way of satisfying all will be to build the nave in Latimer Square, the chancel in Cranmer Square, the tower in Cathedral Square, one transept on the top of old St Michael's and the other next to the Wesleyan Chapel. That plan would no doubt satisfy everyone¹⁸⁷.

Thus, from its beginnings, Christ Church Cathedral has been a focus of civic debate, controversy embedded in its and the city's social life.

George Gilbert Scott's initial design for a wooden cathedral, because of New Zealand's earthquake proneness, was turned down in favour of the later stone construction. The rationale appears to be that English cathedrals were in stone, adding to my contention that the cathedral acted as a 'transitional object' for early settlers from the other side of the world. The foundation stone (another material object given symbolic status) was laid on 16 December 1864 in Cathedral Square. Building progressed in fits and starts, eventually under the direction of Mountfort, who designed the spire and West porch and other important additions such as the pulpit and baptismal font. The building was finally consecrated on All Saints Day, 1881 and completed in 1904. It is worth noting the issue of consecration or setting aside as sacred. Kuper¹⁸⁸, following Eliade¹⁸⁹ and demonstrating from her fieldwork

¹⁸⁴ Lochhead, 1998.

¹⁸⁵ Brown, 2000.

¹⁸⁶ R. Skinner, 'Drawing from an Indigenous Tradition? George Gilbert Scott's First Design for Christchurch Cathedral, 1861-62', in *Architectural History*, vol. 53, 2010, pp. 245-270.

¹⁸⁷ Quoted in Bluck, 2012.

¹⁸⁸ H. Kuper, 'The Language of Sites in the Politics of Space', in S.Low and D. Lawrence-Zuniga (eds), *The Anthropology of Space and Place Locating Culture*, Malden, MA, Blackwell, 1988, p.251.

¹⁸⁹ M. Eliade, *Images and Symbols*, London: Sheed and Ward, 1961.

argues that ‘every society provides its own model of the cosmos characterised by its own sacred centre - the *axis mundi* - the cosmic pillar connecting earth and heaven’. This could explain why it appears that the Cathedral was widely considered the sacred centre of Christchurch and even after it was ‘deconsecrated’, the bishop stated that the land under it remained holy.

As well as having a bishop and cathedral, education and good governance were key aspirations of the colonists. In the same neo-Gothic style as the Cathedral they built Christ’s College, the private Anglican boys’ school and Canterbury College (now the University of Canterbury (UC), moved to Ilam). Since the 1960s the latter buildings have formed the Christchurch Arts Centre. The Cathedral, a ‘temple to the divine’, was aligned with the Mountfort-designed Canterbury Museum, ‘the temple to science’¹⁹⁰. This is illustrative of the mid-nineteenth century discourses around the relative importance of theology and science, museum collections, art and nature as demonstrated, for example, in the 1860 Huxley-Wilberforce Oxford evolution debate in the Oxford University museum¹⁹¹. The Canterbury Museum’s founder director, Julius von Haast, was a prominent scientist¹⁹² and arguably could have wished for a Darwinian quote over the building’s entranceway. In the end, the Biblical declaration, Job 26.14 was inscribed ‘Lo these are parts of His ways but how little a portion is heard of Him’. Again I note the significance given to what is inscribed on a material surface. With the nearby Provincial Council building, this set of buildings formed a boulevard ‘theme park’, bordered by botanical gardens, Hagley Park and the Avon River with its willow trees. As Wilson¹⁹³ notes, prior to the earthquake, Christchurch was often described, with some local pride, as the most English of New Zealand cities, a notion exploited by tourism ventures such as punting on the Avon, the punters dressed in Oxford

¹⁹⁰ R. Fyfe, ‘Temples to Science’ in Macmillan Brown Lectures, 2010, ‘The World under one Roof’, *Radio New Zealand*, (Podcast), <http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/themacmillanbrownlectures/20100101>, (accessed 03 February 2012).

¹⁹¹ K. Wilkins, ‘Huxley Wilberforce Debate’, *Prezi*, (website), 22 July 2014, <https://prezi.com/9whpqvrqbnr/huxley-wilberforce-debate/>, (accessed 20 June 2016).

¹⁹² P. Maling, ‘Haast, Johann Franz Julius von’, in ‘The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography’, *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (website), updated 8 October 2013, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h1/haast-johann-franz-julius-von>, (accessed 23 June 2016).

¹⁹³ J. Wilson, ‘Canterbury region - Christchurch’, in *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (website), updated 30-Oct-14, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/canterbury-region/page-13>, (accessed 20 June 2016).

style. Material culture theorists have of course demonstrated how clothing can be used to create an impression, in this case a link with a fellow university city.

CATHEDRAL SQUARE

The Cathedral was built in the cruciform Cathedral Square, considered the centre of the city. This location is an important aspect in the debate about the building. There have been arguments about the purpose of the 'Square' from its beginning, with many ideas and plans for redevelopment over the years. As Doreen Massey¹⁹⁴ makes clear, space is constructed through multiple interactions, both global and local, is political and is always under construction. This becomes obvious when considering the Cathedral's place in the Square.

Strongman in her MA thesis outlines a major controversy in the 1920s over a proposed Hurst Seager design for a civic centre in the Square. She states 'The social and political skirmishes over domination of the central space continued apace, leading to a full scale legal battle at the end of the decade'¹⁹⁵. Referring to Maclean and Phillips,¹⁹⁶ Strongman suggests protesters were aligned with the Anglican Church, which had 'a number of descendants of the pioneers and successful business people, who were considered elitist in the class conscious society of the day'¹⁹⁷. Perhaps Christchurch is not as class-conscious now as it was then, but as my work shows, there is still an underlying belief in a fairly powerful elitist group used to having their own way in the decision making of the city. Certainly I heard the bishop voice the opinion that this is the major reason for the current controversy.

In 1994 the Christchurch City Council (CCC), following public consultation, commissioned a report on the redevelopment of Cathedral Square. A number of its recommendations were implemented after a series of debates. One of the key tasks was seen to be 'emphasis on the Cathedral in the Square as the formal and visual focus by providing an identifiable central space, axial emphasis, views and complementary features uncluttered by street furniture and walls'¹⁹⁸. McBride¹⁹⁹ was able to demonstrate how various factions within the city contested

¹⁹⁴ D. Massey, *For Space*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005.

¹⁹⁵ T. Strongman, 'From Plain to Square: The Architectural History of Cathedral Square, Christchurch, as an Urban Space - 1850-1974', University of Canterbury, MA Thesis, 1994, p. 96.

¹⁹⁶ C. Maclean and J. Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, Wellington, NZ, Historical Branch, GP Books, 1990, p. 132.

¹⁹⁷ Strongman, 1994, p. 47.

¹⁹⁸ A. Craig, N. Carrie and S. Woods, (eds.), *The Redevelopment of Cathedral Square. A Report to the Cathedral Square Subcommittee*, Christchurch, NZ, Christchurch City Council, 1994.

how the Square would look and who would be included and excluded from it. He used the example of the Anglican's Christchurch City Mission caravan, which from the 1970s was set up on Cathedral land as a drop-in centre for impoverished people, as an expression of what the Church considered its mission to the city's disadvantaged citizens. Often homeless people and others congregated under the large tree beside the Cathedral, or slept in or beside the Cathedral. Some spokespeople considered this to be very undesirable and off-putting to tourists. This caravan was disbanded in 1997 when funding for it dried up. Five years post-earthquake, the redevelopment of the Square was still being debated, because plans for a so-called 'anchor project' Convention Centre seemed to be stalled, and the *impasse* over the future of the Cathedral - it was claimed - was hindering developers²⁰⁰.

On the south side of the Cathedral is a columbarium²⁰¹ commissioned by the Church and designed by Royal Associates, a Maori design firm, to commemorate the 150th Anniversary of Canterbury. It features the caption '*LET THESE STONES SPEAK OF A LOVE THAT ENDURES FOREVER*' which has become a catch-cry for some current protesters over demolition plans for the Cathedral. Although the columbarium was only mentioned by a few of my participants, its contested placement is noted by Hoddinott:

*The decision to locate the structure alongside the Cathedral met with fierce public debate with many suggesting that the columbarium would become a memorial for the rich, ruin a valuable piece of inner-city land and add a morbid element to the already piecemeal approach taken to the Square*²⁰².

This is another instance of public debate about the use of the Square and the recognition of class and economic divisions. An interesting dimension is the inclusion of Maori mythology in the columbarium design and an increasing presence of Maori symbolism within the Square, such as the Cathedral's current viewing *wharenuī*²⁰³, and information boards giving

¹⁹⁹ B. McBride, 'Redeveloping Cathedral Square, Christchurch: The English Landscape and the Maintenance of Social Control', MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1998, p. 7.

²⁰⁰ J. McCrone, 'Saving Christchurch Cathedral Square', *The Press*, 9 May 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/business/the-rebuild/68126393/Saving-Christchurch-Cathedral-Square>, (accessed 29 May 2015).

²⁰¹ *columbarium*: a structure of vaults lined with recesses for cinerary urns, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/columbarium>, (accessed 06 June 2016).

²⁰² W. Hoddinott, 'Christ Church Cathedral Columbarium', School of Landscape Architecture, Lincoln University, unpublished essay, 2004.

²⁰³ *wharenuī*, Maori meeting house, large house, <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=wharenuī>, (accessed 25 May 2016).

the history of Maori association with the Anglican Church. In my opinion, these are indications of the increasing importance and acceptance of Maori in Christchurch. I did not observe any Maori voice in the Cathedral debate, except a report that *Ngāi Tahu*²⁰⁴ were consulted over a fanciful design suggested from overseas.

CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL PRE-EARTHQUAKE

Christ Church Cathedral, until 2011, was the seat of the Rt. Rev Victoria Matthews, elected as the Anglican Bishop of Christchurch in 2008. It was the ‘mother church’ of the Anglican Diocese of Christchurch and the worship centre for around 250 ‘Cathedral regulars’²⁰⁵. Thousands visited it each year, many climbing its tower to view the city. This experience, a Visitors’ Centre with shop and café and an annual CCC grant were important sources of Cathedral revenue. The Cathedral’s value to the Christchurch tourist industry has been one aspect of the debate around its future. Since 1990 this church was marketed by the Church²⁰⁶ and tourist promoters as the ‘heart and soul’ of the city. Many visitors to Christchurch have personal photographs with the Cathedral as the backdrop. It was the venue for concerts, debates, art displays and festivals. It hosted the funerals of city dignitaries and gatherings of mourning, such as followed the death of Princess Diana and the 9/11 destruction of New York’s Twin Towers. It formed part of the social life of the city.

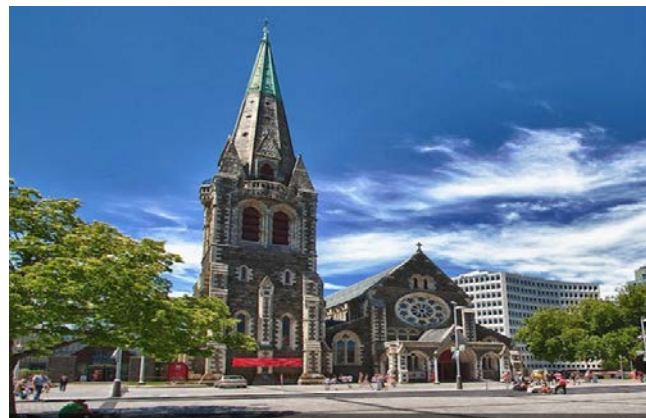


Figure 4: Christ Church Cathedral²⁰⁷.

²⁰⁴ *Ngai Tahu*, Major Maori tribe of the South Island.

²⁰⁵ K. Daniels, ‘Cathedral debate: a view from the pews’, *The Press*, 13 May 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/8664119/Cathedral-debate-a-view-from-the-pews>, (accessed 02 February 2014).

²⁰⁶ P. Beck, in B. Thomas, *Christ Church Cathedral, New Zealand*, Christchurch, NZ, Christ Church Cathedral, 2006.

²⁰⁷ Photographer Roger Marks-personal collection.

In 1983, Christ Church Cathedral was registered as a Category I Historic Building and as such had protection under the *Historic Places Act 1993*. This legislation was changed to the *Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014* (New Zealand Legislation 2014) becoming increasingly significant since the earthquake, because the building's heritage significance is a vital factor in the controversy.



Figure 5: Christchurch City Council logo²⁰⁸.

The stylized image of the Cathedral, along with that of the Avon River, formed the logo of Christchurch City Council in 1990, appearing on everything from web-sites to rubbish bins. McBride describes the image as:

a combination of the city myth - the moral authority and tradition of the Anglican Church is represented by the central position given to the Cathedral. The Cathedral also makes order out of the barren nothingness—the flat land and blue sky - conjuring up the aims, ambitions and chivalry of the ‘pioneers’ in conquering the wilderness. In combination with the Cathedral, the ordered land suggests paternalism and tradition...the green land and meandering river...represent the garden city...symbolic of the English ideal and virtues: order, tradition, loyalty, individualism and patriarchy. The entire image, a reinterpretation of the city myths, reinforces the social and moral order of Christchurch society²⁰⁹.

In this somewhat fulsome description, McBride taps into what, pre-earthquake, was a prevailing myth, with the Cathedral constructed as a defining symbol of the city, called by many an icon, recognised both nationally and internationally. It held other symbolic values. As Razia Grover has noted:

From time immemorial the church and cathedral have symbolised not just the mystical search for inner peace, but, in more practical ways, the fervour of local communities and governments to establish a sense of identity...Cathedrals are a record of intriguing histories and ecclesiastical design. They are storehouses of

²⁰⁸https://www.google.co.nz/search?q=ccc+logo+images&biw=1107&bih=731&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjW89yQ_a7SAhVEy7wKHS6EBQ4Q_AUIBigB#imgsrc=IVWOH4nrXKFBAM; accessed 21 May 2013.

²⁰⁹ McBride, 1998, p. 111.

*precious works of art that make each building not just a place of pilgrimage and worship, but a living museum*²¹⁰.

Christ Church Cathedral did indeed hold much of heritage value. It depicted not only the history of the Church itself but also the wider story of the city and the region. The names of hundreds of people were memorialized in the building in various ways, such as on plaques, chairs, windows and carvings. The War Memorial Chapel and its artefacts held special significance for some research participants. These numerous ‘traces of the absent’ as Meyer²¹¹ notes, along with the various symbolic meanings of the Cathedral are, in my opinion, major factors in the controversy.

The principal ministry of any Cathedral is the worship of God, the proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, regular prayer and Christian witness. Christ Church Cathedral did this through regular Sunday and daily mid-day and evening services, and special occasion Eucharistic services with the so called best liturgical practice of set form, robed clergy and choir, processions, banners, and incense. Some would call this ‘High Church’. In fact it caters for the five senses, in true ritual style. The Cathedral became renowned for its male voice and boys’ choir, with distinctively red robed choristers who often sang at other venues around the city and beyond. It was promoted as a house of prayer, open to people of all faiths or none, viewing hospitality as a central task. The previous bishop, David Coles, on his retirement donated a banner created by artist-in-residence, Sue Spigel, in the style of her controversial altar cloth described below. It highlights the Biblical words: ‘My house shall be called a house of prayer for all people.’ This banner was salvaged and is displayed in the TC and may be viewed as a symbolic assertion of the role of that cathedral. Some people told me that this artefact for them was a link with the past and their own personal history. For me it symbolises the theological differences currently at issue within the Anglican Communion. It hints at the ideas of church or ecclesia being a gathered community (see Durkheim²¹²) and church as a sacred space. Again, I would argue that because people cannot be symbolically separated from their buildings, ‘church’ is both a building and a people.

SOME PREVIOUS CATHEDRAL DISPUTES

²¹⁰ R. Grover, *Cathedrals of the World*, Maidenhead, UK, Worth Press, 2010, dustcover.

²¹¹ M. Meyer, ‘Placing and tracing absence: A material culture of the immaterial’, *Journal of Material Culture*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 103-110, 2012,

²¹² W. Pickering (ed.), *Durkheim on Religion: A selection of readings with bibliographies*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

As mentioned, the Cathedral has always been a focus of debate. In more recent years, a bitter civic argument, described by Brown²¹³ and involving Church and heritage advocates in particular, accompanied the design and building of the Cathedral's attached Visitors' Centre. A decade later an altar cloth, commissioned by the Cathedral leadership to celebrate its 125th anniversary in 2006, created a major 'in church' dispute, which spilled over into the public arena with twenty letters in *The Press*. Fabric artist, Spigel, had used segments from the pre-Christian Upanishads, the Asatoma sadgamaya prayer²¹⁴ in her design. Conservative Evangelical Anglicans said this was not appropriate in a Christian church, particularly on the 'holy table'. One wrote to *The Press*:

*This is a mixing of religions, which should never happen inside a church dedicated to the Christian God. The altar-cloth row was symbolic of deep divisions in the Anglican Church between two understandings of God and what it means to be a church. Ultimately these are two incompatible theologies*²¹⁵.

I agree that this altar-cloth fight was symbolic, another battle in the 20 year international struggle over the future of the Anglican Church, with real possibilities of schism over whether its theology would be inclusive or exclusive. This is also an example of how an inscription, a few printed fragments of Sanskrit, can give agency to a material object, a cloth, to carry theological significance and disturb social relationships. The furore over whether or not this beautiful cloth could be used in the Cathedral, added to the then prevailing sense of danger of schism within the Diocese.

Around the same time as the altar cloth incident, an internal dispute erupted concerning a media picture of Hindu dancers in the Cathedral, marking the launch of a NZ Police publication on dealing with other ethnic groups. An Evangelical Anglican priest suggested, at a meeting I attended, that the Cathedral should be 'cleansed' after this ceremony. Further debate followed the Buddha's birthday celebrations outside the west doors of the Cathedral with the participation by the Cathedral's Dean, Peter Beck. These arguments are reminiscent of Douglas's²¹⁶ work on the positioning of some material objects as contaminating in

²¹³ Brown, 2000, p. 154ff.

²¹⁴ *From the unreal lead me to the real. From darkness lead me to the light. From death lead me to immortality The Upanishads: Breath of the Eternal*, translated by Swami Prabhavananda and Frederick Manchester, Hollywood, Vedanta Press, 1968, <http://www.easwaran.org/the-upanishads-invocations.html> , (accessed 29 August 2016).

²¹⁵ A. Allan-Johns, Letters to the Editor, *The Press*, 17 November 2006, p. 8.

²¹⁶ Douglas, 1984 .

particular situations. They are also indicative of what appears to be a growing intolerance of other faiths by some sections of Christianity.

Such controversies not only point to a wide interest in Cathedral affairs but also to internal divisions within the Anglican community over issues of sacred space, purity and the meaning of Christian witness and mission. In a post-earthquake mission audit carried out by the Diocesan Standing Committee the Cathedral congregation's stated 'mission vision' was 'hospitality and openness to all'. However, one Church leader told me later that there had been dissatisfaction on the Committee with this response. Some considered that the Cathedral had lost its focus and become somewhat fuzzy, only appealing to a section of society. In my opinion, these arguments indicate the growing strength of the conservative Evangelical tradition within the diocese. At the Electoral Synod which elected Matthews, there was initially some concern voiced about the suitability of a woman from overseas. Many hoped however that she would provide strong leadership, especially in healing some of the emerging factions and theological differences within the diocese. This possible breakaway from her diocese of some evangelical parishes was and is a possibility that Matthews inherited and continues to contend with, part of the tightrope she walks, surely affecting the decisions she makes.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE CATHEDRAL, THE CITY, AND BEYOND

The relationship between the Cathedral and diverse networks of people and institutions has varied over the years and at the time of the earthquakes appears to have been convivial. Some respondents noted that there had been a lot of effort by previous deans and bishops to build this connection. I here outline some of the significant relationships.

Beck and others before him built a cordial link with the civic leadership of the city. My interview with former mayor Gary Moore, a Roman Catholic, reveals the significance of these relationships:

As Mayor I managed to get millions of dollars into that Cathedral. The Council put a million dollars into earthquake strengthening in the Cathedral. The Council put in...I don't know I can't remember...one or two million into the roof - might have been more - when it needed a new roof and we put in, from 2005 somewhere between 2 or 3 or 4 or 5 hundred. We put in \$240,000 towards the operations of the cathedral. So it

*was big money...our argument was that the building was much more than just a denominational church. It was a special gathering place at times of crisis*²¹⁷.

Because of this contribution by Christchurch ratepayers, many now argue strongly for a moral ownership of the Cathedral and the right to have a say in its future - another discourse in the controversy. This attitude reflects Mauss's assertion²¹⁸ that gifts always carry an unspoken but compelling need for reciprocity.

In Christchurch there is a strong arts community, many of whom at the time of the earthquake had some links with the Cathedral as worshippers, Canon Almoners (see p.90), performers, or audience members at various cultural events. As deconstruction of the Cathedral began in 2012, eighty-three people from this section of the community, business people and descendants of early pioneers signed an open letter, published in *The Press*, calling for a halt to demolition²¹⁹. Whilst some in the arts community favoured retention of the Cathedral, Jenny Harper, a descendant of the first Bishop of Christchurch and Director of the Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetu told me during a casual conversation that she had joked with Dean Beck that the Art Gallery would become the new icon of the city. This modern facility was opened in 2003 and during the earthquake was the Civil Defence headquarters. Harper's lighthearted remark points to the underlying question of what, post disaster, is or should be the icon or symbol of Christchurch. In other words, which constituency would be signified by the icon.

Relationships with other churches have fluctuated over the years, probably depending on the personnel in the leadership and what was happening nationally and internationally. During the six years when I was minister at Durham Street Methodist Church I attended monthly meetings of the 'mainline' ministers of the inner-city churches. On one occasion a non-Anglican colleague challenged the arrogance of the assumed place of superiority of the Cathedral in the life of the city and the deference given the Cathedral staff in these meetings. I later questioned the marketing of the Cathedral as the 'heart and soul of the city'. Nevertheless this concept continued to be promoted, the symbolism of which became more significant post-earthquake and is in keeping with Kuper's above assertion about a sacred centre.

²¹⁷ G. Moore, interviewed by PA, 18 August 2014.

²¹⁸ Mauss, 1971.

²¹⁹ M. Greenhill and R. Young, 'Save our cathedral, Cantabrians plead', *The Press*, 03 May, 2012.

<http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6848757/Save-our-cathedral-Cantabrians-pleads>, (accessed 12 June 2015).

Deans John Bluck (1990-2002) and Peter Beck (2002-2012) were very experienced in interfacing with the media. News of the Cathedral was often in the newspaper and for some years this church had its own local radio programme. In my opinion it is significant that a new media protocol, according to the Diocesan website, was formulated post the September 2010 earthquake and signed off just prior to that of February 2011. This required that all media enquiries be made to the Bishop or her delegated representative. I would suggest that this is indicative of discomfort over Beck's high media profile because 'you can't have two stars', one participant ventured. A public rift between the Bishop and the Dean occurred later. Since 2012, the Church's relationship with the media, particularly *The Press*, has been troubled.

Christchurch is one of five international cities designated as Gateways to Antarctica²²⁰. Since the 1950s it has been the stopping off point for the USA Antarctic Program, originally called 'Operation Deep Freeze'. Since 1901, when Robert Falcon Scott's expedition sailed south, there has been a connection with the Cathedral, which contained two plaques, one commemorating Antarctic explorers and the other commemorating all those who have lost their lives in the Antarctic. The United States Antarctic Program flag was displayed in there and during the winter, the Erebus Chalice used at the Chapel of the Snows at McMurdo base was kept in the Cathedral. At the beginning of each Antarctic season there continues to be a joint Antarctica, New Zealand and United States Antarctic Program Sunday public worship service, when the chalice is ceremonially handed over and the personnel going south for the summer are prayed for – an example of a material object being used to signify a relationship and the ritual of departure on a hazardous journey.

The penultimate service in the Christ Church Cathedral was Evensong the night before the devastating February earthquake, when the United States President's Day²²¹ was commemorated. One participant commented:

I was there for that final service. The Dean said 'this place in an earthquake if you need to evacuate just go through here' stood up to a 7.1...and of course we had a 6.3.

²²⁰ Circles of Sustainability, (website), 'Reimagining Antarctic 'Gateway' Cities', <http://www.circlesofsustainability.org/projects/antarctic-cities/>, (accessed 20 June 2016). Other Gateways to Antarctica are Cape Town, South Africa, Hobart, Australia, Punta Arenas, Chile, and Ushuaia, Argentina.

²²¹ Presidents Day: Formerly known as Washington's birthday - USA Public holiday on 3rd Monday in February, www.history.com/topics/holidays/presidents-day, (accessed 13 August 2014).

*...we had an American delegation, we had...the Prime Minister was there...the leader of the Opposition Phil Goff...diplomatic corps, councillors*²²².

I cite these as examples of Christ Church Cathedral being an integral part of the cultural heritage and social life of Christchurch. It has also been the site of such culturally constructed practices as the annual 'Garden City' Floral Festival; a huge Christmas tree under which families left gifts for children in need; carol singing and midnight mass on Christmas Eve; civic services such as Anzac Day and Waitangi Day commemorations. Symbolically, it was viewed by many as an expression of the spiritual life of Christchurch, its heart and soul. According to a number of my research participants and numerous on-line commentators, the Cathedral was symbolic of their identity as citizens of Christchurch. This identity is, I argue, tied to the materiality of the building.

THE EARTHQUAKES AND EFFECTS ON THE CATHEDRAL

PREVIOUS EARTHQUAKES

There have been previous earthquakes. Following the September 2010 earthquake, historian Geoffrey Rice researched the history of nineteenth century earthquakes in Christchurch. He reported that the first damage to the Cathedral occurred just a month after it was consecrated in 1881. In 1888, a near 8.0 quake caused more damage, particularly to the spire, whilst in 1901 a further earthquake, measuring 6.8, shook Christchurch, and according to Rice

*the cathedral spire again lost its twice repaired top, and this time the Rhodes family insisted on something better adapted to "the Shaky Isles". Instead of stone, the top was rebuilt in Australian hardwood sheathed in copper. Inside was hung a counterweight. This sensible precaution seems to have done its work yet again on September 4, 2010*²²³.

(However this repaired spire did not survive the February 2011 earthquake and now resides in Quake City, a Canterbury Museum's temporary 'pop-up' museum exhibition²²⁴, an indication of a material object's ongoing social life).

Strongman uses the *The Press* report following another EQ:

Curiosity in Christchurch, as it always does in the time of earthquake and sudden shock, turned at once to the spire of the Cathedral and throughout the rest of the day

²²² Anonymous participant, interviewed by PA, 01 April 2014.

²²³ G. Rice, 'Quakes not new in Christchurch', *The Press*, 17 September 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/4137860/Quakes-not-new-in-Chch>, (accessed 17 July 2015).

²²⁴ Canterbury Museum (website), 'Quake City, The Christchurch Earthquakes Story', <http://www.canterburymuseum.com/quakecity/>, (accessed 06 July 2015).

*one saw crowds craning their necks in the direction of the golden ball and cross at the top of the spire*²²⁵.

She argues that ‘the history of the Cathedral, combined with the seismological character of the place in which it stood had given Cathedral Square a sense of identity for the people of Christchurch’²²⁶. Intriguingly, this juxtaposition of history, earthquake and identity matches my research findings.

Given this demonstrable earthquake proneness and the extent to which earthquake strengthening had been done around the city in the previous two decades, it is surprising that in the lead up to September 2010 Christchurch people generally did not anticipate a large earthquake.

There had been several inexplicable premonitions. For instance, a local newspaper, Community News, on 1 April 2007 (that is, as an April Fools’ Day ‘joke’) headlined:

*Cathedral to be demolished – huge cracks found -- \$110m repairs too costly...Secret meetings have been held between Anglican Church officials, senior city council staff and international construction experts in a desperate bid to save the cathedral*²²⁷.

This was an uncanny report which I have not seen analysed or explained in the light of subsequent events. There had been some prophecies of the destruction of the Cathedral in the last decade. Former Dean, John Bluck wrote:

*Some sections of the Pentecostal community prophesied the downfall of the cathedral and saw dark clouds hanging over its roof. I just thought that meant it was going to rain soon*²²⁸.

Richman²²⁹, in an intriguing ethnographic study of the role of Catholic, Protestant, particularly Pentecostal, and Vodou world-views following the Haitian earthquake, has given examples of pre-earthquake premonitions, as well as reasons given for the disaster. For instance, he notes American conservative Christian media mogul Pat Robertson’s suggestion that the Haiti disaster were caused by Haitian’s ‘pact with the devil’, a reference to their widespread Vodou practices. In New Zealand, prominent Pentecostal pastor, Brian Tamaki blamed the Christchurch earthquake on some churches’ acceptance of homosexuality; letters

²²⁵ The Press, 18 June 1929, quoted by Strongman, 1988, p. 11.

²²⁶ Strongman, 1988, p. 11.

²²⁷ A. Turner, ‘Newspaper joke predicted cathedral’s fate’, *The Press*, 17 July 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/7293590/Newspaper-joke-predicted-cathedrals-fate>, (accessed 9 July 2015).

²²⁸ Bluck, *Once and Future Cathedral*, p. 11.

²²⁹ K. Richman, ‘Religion at the Epicenter: Agency and Affiliation in Léogâne after the Earthquake’, in M. Polyne, (ed.), *The Idea of Haiti: Rethinking Crisis and Development*, Minneapolis, MN., University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

to *The Press* suggested prostitutes in Manchester Street caused the upheaval. All this is, I consider, an effort to make sense, however bizarre, of such an event as a major earthquake and will depend on one's ontological viewpoint.

04 SEPTEMBER 2010

In spite of these previous earthquakes, a largely unprepared Christchurch was rudely shaken awake at 4.35 am 04 September 2010 by a 7.1 shake. The city was shrouded in darkness as the power failed on that cold early morning. There were no human casualties but buildings in the city and surrounding mid-Canterbury region²³⁰ were damaged or destroyed. Aftershocks continued but 'near normal' life resumed for most people.

The day of this first earthquake, the Anglican Synod and then most Sunday church services were cancelled as people recovered from the initial shock and took stock of what had happened as the extent of the damage was assessed. A state of emergency had been announced, with inner city curfews in place. Her Majesty the Queen sent a message of good will to the citizens of Christchurch.

A week later, because they needed to await an engineering assessment of the safety of their building, the Cathedral congregation held their service outside the church's west doors, under the gaze of the statue of John Robert Godley, 'founder' of Christchurch. The clergy and choir were dressed in their liturgical garb, standing around the 'altar', which held the 'family silver'. The patens and chalices, candlesticks, crosses and banners had been reassembled in a strangely comforting fashion and the service proceeded exactly as it would have done inside the building. I suggest the ritual of the liturgy, with its affirmations such as 'We are the body of Christ - by one Spirit we are baptised into one body; The Lord is here - God's Spirit is with us', was reassuring and reconstituting of the badly shaken, mostly elderly congregation. Sitting in the front row in his high-vis jacket was Mayor Bob Parker. People shared with one another their experiences and the 'miraculous' fact that nobody, 'thank God', had been killed and that the Cathedral was still intact. Whilst some security people stood around the periphery, a few curious passers-by paused for a puzzled look before moving on. With others, I questioned why this was not an ecumenical or even an inter-faith service and in the absence of a satisfactory reply from the Dean, I could suggest it was again an indication of Christian and Anglican hegemony. However, in retrospect, I think it was a pastoral initiative by the

²³⁰ The prominent pre-Adamite Deans' historic family homestead 'Homebush' was shattered. It became the image of that earthquake, a huge photo of its devastated state displayed on a wall of Quake City museum.

stressed Cathedral staff to meet the needs of their own people, as indeed other churches and institutions were doing around the city. Turner has written ‘performances of ritual are distinct phases in the social process, whereby groups adjust to internal changes and adapt to their external environment’²³¹. This issue will be taken up in more detail later, along with an analysis of other performances that formed part of the ongoing saga.

A ‘drop-in’ centre was opened in the foyer of the Cathedral the week following this first earthquake. Volunteers offered cups of tea and ‘a chat’ to passers-by. This initiative was not much utilised because there were in fact few people about in the inner city. The day I was there a man who spoke with me echoed other remarks I heard, saying ‘Thank God it wasn’t the Cathedral. Wouldn’t that be terrible?’ Such a possibility was unimaginable, surely just an April Fools’ Day joke. He went on to tell me how, as a schoolboy, he always used to catch the tram at the stop outside. This linking of the building with personal experiences was common, reiterated in most of my interviews. It was at that time that I began to ponder what would happen if, indeed, this ‘icon’ were to be lost to the city.

26 DECEMBER 2010

The presumed invincibility of the Cathedral was severely tested on Boxing Day 2010. A congregation of around 200 people, including Matthews, was in the church for the Sunday morning service. As they listened to the sermon, a further 4.2 aftershock struck, splattering the congregation with falling plaster and frightening them. Noel Woods²³², a person very conversant with the Cathedral building and the work done for previous earthquake strengthening, was sitting in the church that day. He told me he saw the whole place, including the columns ‘swaying from side to side like a snake’. He reckoned that if the work of strengthening the roof, walls and supports hadn’t been done in 1999, at a cost of around \$8M, the roof would have collapsed that day and killed or severely injured all inside.

Former Cathedral marketing manager Craig Dixon told me of his concerns for the Cathedral following these two 2010 earthquakes. He said he used to look at the building every day, seeing signs of movement and thought that:

This building’s had it. This is a building, stone on stone and it’s been knocked around and all those connections had come apart and you could see the pointing all over the place was coming out and I’m surprised that we were...that people were as

²³¹ Turner, 1967, p. 20.

²³² Noel Wood, interviewed by PA, 29 August 2012.

*comfortable as they were for that building to remain functioning. And we got the engineers and the engineers said 'No. It's OK'*²³³.

There was a pervasive reliance on the expertise of engineers. However, an engineer's wife told me after the first earthquake that her husband didn't want their family to attend Cathedral worship services because, in his view, it wasn't safe. Nevertheless, in spite of some obvious material damage, such as plaster cracking or falling off and an outside concrete cross damaged and carted away for repair²³⁴, Cathedral life continued as normal as 2011 began - albeit around scaffolding, both inside and out. Each service was prefaced by notice of evacuation procedures with exits pointed out - a litany common before most public gatherings in the city - but the congregation was reassured by Dean Beck that their church was the safest building in town. It would seem that whilst some people had doubts about the building's safety, reliance was placed in engineers' reports and faith in the previous earthquake strengthening. I would go further than this to suggest that there was prevalent at that time a fairly typical 'Kiwi' (New Zealand) 'she'll be right' attitude, a characteristic identified in an anthropological study of New Zealand cultural traits by Sutherland and Denny²³⁵. This led to a prevailing hopefulness that all was well, plus the desire to return as quickly as possible to normal life.

22 FEBRUARY 2011

On Tuesday 22 February 2011 at 12.51pm a 6.3 magnitude earthquake struck Christchurch, killing 185 people in the CBD and causing widespread damage, including the partial collapse of the Christ Church Cathedral tower. Every resident was shaken up. Many were traumatised. Numbers lost their lives or loved ones, their businesses or homes, precious possessions or relationships. Much of the central business district's heritage stock, including all the major inner city Christian churches, was destroyed²³⁶. My former place of employment, the 2010 earthquake damaged Durham Street Methodist Church collapsed, killing three men who were removing the church's organ. Some suggested this incident could have strengthened the

²³³ Craig Dixon, interviewed by PA, 31 March 2014.

²³⁴ A. Rewi (blog), www.christchurch-earthquake.com/.../ch-ch-cathedral-update-please-read-careful, (accessed 18 June 2015).

²³⁵ Clifton, 2010, Report of American anthropologists Patricia Sunderland and Rita Denny's unpublished in-depth study of New Zealand characteristics commissioned by a marketing firm in Clifton, 'Choice, Bro,' 2010, <http://www.listener.co.nz/commentary/choice-bro/>, p. 14, (accessed 10 September 2014).

²³⁶ Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga (website) lists twenty-nine Category One and eighty-one Category Two heritage buildings either destroyed or severely damaged, <http://www.heritage.org.nz/>, (accessed 20 June 2016).

bishop's emphasis on safety. The Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament (commonly known as the Basilica) was badly damaged, its ultimate fate undetermined. Twenty-four Anglican churches were either wrecked or severely damaged. Initially, many citizens faced liquefaction, electricity and sewerage problems.

When it came time to write up this particular section of my work, I found myself strangely affected, even though I was not physically present for this earthquake. In reviewing my interview stories and many of the on-line videos of this seismic event, I was drawn again into the horror of it all and wonder if horror has a kind of magnetic force. It was like the compulsive watching of on-line raw footage of the unbelievable destruction that I had done whilst visiting Doha at the time of this earthquake. However, I find it important to record some of what happened because the trauma of these events has no doubt affected me, but certainly also the protagonists in the Cathedral debate, particularly those who were inside the building during one or other of the earthquakes.

Whilst sitting in Doha watching television, I saw my friend, Sue Spigel, leaning out of an upper window of the crumbled Cathedral tower amidst a swirl of dust. I worried about her survival. The photograph below shows Spigel clinging to the window sill, whilst behind her both the roof and floor of that section of the tower had collapsed, leaving her in the limen, betwixt and between, metaphorically as well as literally at the threshold of what turned out for her to be a new take on life²³⁷. The image was distributed world-wide as 'the woman in the window'.

²³⁷ M. Van Beynen, 'The Trapped: Where are they now?', *The Press*, 22 February 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/66380362/The-Trapped-Where-are-they-now>, (accessed 02 August 2016).



Figure 6: Sue Spiegel at Christchurch Cathedral²³⁸,

Because many others questioned what had happened to her, TV3 interviewed Spiegel in her home ten days later. She described the earthquake:

*It was like an explosion, like an atomic bomb, a tornado going through the roof. Within three or four seconds, huge pieces of masonry began to fall, through the roof - it began falling down. I knew I couldn't move so I put my hands over my head, trying to protect my head and it must have been then that a rock or something came down and hit my arm and broke it*²³⁹

At the Roman Catholic Cathedral there was another 'woman at the window'. In an upstairs window, a statue of the Virgin Mary turned 180 degrees, to look out over Christchurch. An image of this phenomenon was widely distributed and various meanings attributed to it. As one on-line commentator said:

a few people took her 180 degree turn as a "sign" that she was turning her back on the evils of the church, others said she must have wanted to look out of the window and across the broken city as a symbol of solidarity. For me it's just one of the weird things that happen by chance when Mother Earth shakes, rattles and rolls. People

²³⁸ Photo: Richard Cosgrove/the Press, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/4724017/ChristChurch-Cathedral-artist-tells-of-miracle-survival>, (accessed 13 April 2013).

²³⁹ NewsHub, 'Cathedral artist alive and well', 3 News, 02 March 2011, <http://www.3news.co.nz/nznews/cathedral-artist-alive-and-well-2011030221#axzz3e1PqrsqT>, (accessed 25 June 2015).

*who want to read more into it will, because they want to, nothing more, nothing less*²⁴⁰.

This is consistent with Turner's observation of the difference between signifier and signified 'The popular tendency is to see the Virgin's supernatural power as intimately bound up with the particular image, rather than to see the image as just another symbol of that power'²⁴¹. Later, after this statue was salvaged, it was carried in procession around the Basilica by parishioners, in a prayer vigil for the city and as a symbol of earthquake survival²⁴². The ritual of procession with the Virgin Mary statue lifted up in veneration during the month of May is a longstanding Catholic tradition²⁴³, signifying, in Turnerian terms, both divine presence and a universal human community. In this case, following Turner, I would suggest 'The original intended signified, related to universally accepted theological principles, may be partially replaced by a new signified, defined from some critical historical event in the community'²⁴⁴. In other words, the rescued statue signified not only the power and protection of the Virgin but in a new way, the survival of the post-earthquake city.

²⁴⁰ B. O'Connor, 'Mary pirouettes 180° during earthquake', *Marist Messenger*, 10 August 2011, <http://www.maristmessenger.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Mary-in-Window>, (accessed 23 July 2015).

²⁴¹ Turner, 1974, p. 143.

²⁴² M. Wright, 'Procession gives Mary tour of damaged site', *The Press*, 30 May 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/5071410/Procession-gives-Mary-tour-of-damaged-site>, (accessed 27 July 2015).

²⁴³ Catholic Culture (website), 'Month of Mary', https://www.catholicculture.org/culture/liturgicalyear/overviews/months/05_1.cfm, (accessed 27 July 2015).

²⁴⁴ V. Turner, 'Dramatic Ritual/Ritual Drama: Performative and Reflexive Anthropology,' *Kenyon Review*, 1979. p. 144.



Figure 7: Statue of Virgin Mary at Catholic Basilica²⁴⁵.

Immediately before this February 2011 quake, a small midday service was held in the Cathedral's side chapel. The Rev. Rosalie Hoddinott, the priest who had led the service, was on the stairs to the crypt when the shaking began. She escaped and walked some distance to her suburban home, still wearing her liturgical alb and stole. Later that day Hoddinott was one of twenty-one older women presenting at the hospital with stress cardiomyopathy, also known as 'broken heart syndrome', a post-traumatic condition which is the subject of ongoing research²⁴⁶. This is a simple illustration of how an event such as a major earthquake can produce various physiological responses in a population. Even when we were later studying in Oxford, students noted a physical response of heightened alertness each time a truck went past. I note these and the stories below to demonstrate some of the physical and psychological effects of the earthquake on the population.

Other shocked staff and visitors were able to escape Christ Church Cathedral, though one man sustained a broken leg from falling masonry in the Cathedral Visitors Centre. In my interviewing, I deliberately did not ask people to recount their quake stories because of the possibility of re-traumatising them. However, several spontaneously did recapture something of what they had experienced. Marketing manager Craig Dixon had just returned from holiday and noticed that the banner to advertise the Floral Festival was still attached by wire ropes to the Cathedral Tower and needed to be taken down. On previous occasions he had fantasised that if he was doing that when an earthquake hit, he would simply hang on to the

²⁴⁵ <https://www.maristmessenger.co.nz/2011/08/01/mary-pirouettes-180°-during-earthquake>, (accessed 13 April 2013).

²⁴⁶ C. Chan, and R. Troughton et al, 'One-year follow-up of the 2011 Christchurch Earthquake stress cardiomyopathy cases', *N.Z. Med J.*, Vol. 127, No. 1396, 2014, pp. 15-22.

rope. That day he went to get a custodian to steady the ladder as he climbed up to retrieve the banner but that person was having his lunch and said ‘give me quarter of an hour or so’. Dixon continued:

I went back to my office downstairs and did a few things on my computer, then stood up to go - so then of course the whole thing just plummeted down and the rubble would have killed us and if I'd managed...and it only took about 15-20 secs. so I would have been hanging on...and gone. As it was I was in the very place I didn't want to be in an earthquake...underground. And I remember I got up, I don't remember looking. I remember the noise. What stayed with me was the noise of a low rumble...like a truck tipping up large rocks and slowly rolling the rocks around. Of course I didn't know what that was. I knew something was falling down. I didn't know what. I knew it was the Cathedral, but I wasn't sure where in the Cathedral...whether it was the whole building...because I was underground and couldn't tell. And so I remember just standing there in the hallway and just looking up at the ceiling and waiting for it to cave in...and I knew I wouldn't see it. And feeling quite calm which was strange. And then the noise stopped and I went out...yeah it was pretty scary²⁴⁷.

This awareness of a ‘near miss’ was reiterated by another staff member who told me, ‘if I had been sitting in that corner of the Visitors’ Centre where I always had my lunch I would have been crushed’²⁴⁸. 87 year old Marjorie Eathorne attended the mid-day service that February day and went to use the Cathedral’s underground toilets where she was caught when the earthquake struck. When she was relaying the story to me, some eighteen months later, her description was somewhat disjointed, as she appeared to begin to relive the event of terror and disorientation. At the end of our interview she thanked me for listening to her story with compassion. Post earthquake the need to tell out one’s experience was a noticeable feature, as were the stories of near escape. It seemed that people sought to put their experience into context and to make sense of what had happened to them.

For example, participant Jane Simpson²⁴⁹ reminisced:

That evening I thought none of us could stay in our houses in Cornwall Drive. There was a green community area and I had the only radio that had batteries in it and I was listening to the news and we were huddled in blankets saying what had happened and then I heard that the Cathedral was down and I just couldn't believe it! And that to me was the end. That was the symbol that was the end of Christchurch as we knew it...Nothing else really hit me but that hit me. And I still remember the moment and I

²⁴⁷ Craig Dixon, interviewed by PA, 31 March 2014.

²⁴⁸ Anonymous Participant, interviewed by PA, 06 September 2012.

²⁴⁹ Jane Simpson, interviewed by PA, 17 March 2014.

said “The Cathedral’s down”. The news meant that Christchurch as we knew it was gone forever.

This sense of utter devastation and loss was not uncommon. There were initial fears that twentytwo tourists were trapped but dead in the pile of rubble of the Cathedral tower. Three days after the earthquake, Urban Search and Rescue (USAR) people, in order to retrieve CCTV cameras and footage to assist the search, escorted two Cathedral staff members into the building. I note that up until then the focus for USAR had been looking for people who could still be alive and that was obviously not possible in the pile of tower rubble. For over a week Matthews and Beck, apart from the anxious general population, were waiting for the news that bodies had been recovered from the collapsed Cathedral tower. Then

Peter Beck told NZPA he got a telephone call about 1am from the head of the Urban Search and Rescue task force, Ralph Moore, who told him the shattered Cathedral had been checked and there were no bodies in the rubble....‘I was expecting to get a call from Mr. Moore saying they had found a body and I and my colleagues were going to go down and say prayers at the side of the body. But of course I got this other news and I just burst into tears. I was speechless, it was unbelievable’²⁵⁰.

Matthews, in stating the primacy of safety concerns in any plan for the Cathedral, said she never wanted another bishop to stand as she had, waiting for dead bodies to be brought out of their Cathedral. I mention this because I think this experience, along with having been in the building during the Boxing Day quake, may have had a direct bearing on Matthews’s often quoted emphasis on safety. Other Church decision-makers were also in the building as it shook from these two earthquakes. In my opinion this has also influenced their concerns for safety and the need for a new building. A number of my participants said they would not go into a restored Cathedral because of their experiences. Certainly in those early days many, including Matthews and Beck, said that people come before buildings, a sentiment that was later contested by some of my participants. One person in particular strongly stated her belief that their buildings are what help to make people who they are. Or, as Pinney writes, ‘clearly things make people and people who are made by those things go on to make other things’²⁵¹. This belief is echoed in the ideas that people expressed about their sense of attachment to the Cathedral, the memories that it evoked and the sense of identity that it provided. These are key aspects of the thesis.

²⁵⁰ NewsHub, ‘Reverend Peter Beck overwhelmed with news no bodies were found in the cathedral’, 3 News, 05 March, 2011, <http://www.3news.co.nz/nznews/reverend-peter-beck-overwhelmed-with-news-no-bodies-were-found-in-cathedral-2011030510axzz3dZHO8tVn>, (accessed 20 June 2015).

²⁵¹ C. Pinney, ‘Things happen or from which moment does that object come?’ in D. Miller (ed.), *Materiality*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2005, p. 257.

There was, however, another viewpoint. Seven weeks after this major earthquake, *The Press* published the opinion of historian Katie Pickles²⁵². Under the caption ‘Natural break with our colonial past’ and with the picture of Godley’s toppled statue in front of the Cathedral, Pickles argued for the earthquake providing a ‘postcolonial moment’ for Christchurch, hurrying what was already happening. She maintained that the Cathedral for many was a hollow icon, with only half of Christchurch citizens identified as Christian and 35 percent claiming no religion. Others would not know or care about the city’s colonial history. This, in my opinion makes the subsequent events more intriguing and almost inexplicable, unless one takes into account the power bases of the city along with attachments that are separate from religious affiliations.

13 JUNE 2011

After thousands of smaller shocks, two large aftershocks, one 5.5 and another of 6.4, further rocked the city on 13 June 2011. These knocked the confidence of many residents who were in various stages of recovery from the initial trauma of the February earthquake. No one was killed, although a number of people sustained injuries and again there was considerable property damage particularly in the hill suburbs. Whilst I was studying at the University of Oxford, my own Scarborough Hill home, which had sustained cracks in the February event, was made uninhabitable in this subsequent event and was later demolished.

Following the February earthquake, steel girders to allow USAR teams to safely search the building propped up the Cathedral’s west wall. After the June earthquake, at the foot of this steel bracing, the ornate stonework and stained glass windows of the Rose Window lay shattered. At a Cathedral congregational meeting the previous month, people had cited this rose window as the most important thing that should go into a new building. Matthews described it as the ‘icon of the icon’²⁵³. Complainants later suggested ineptitude in providing the battering ram, which destroyed the rose window and a large part of the west wall. A noticeable feature of life post-earthquake, possibly indicative of an underlying cultural or psychological rationale was the need to attribute blame – be it to Government or insurance

²⁵² K. Pickles, ‘Natural break with our colonial past’, *The Press*, 08 April 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/4863323/A-natural-break-from-our-colonial-past>, (accessed 15 May 2011). Pickles was an Associate Professor of History at UC (now Professor and Head of History),

²⁵³ Taonga News and The Press, ‘Cathedral loses rose window’, 15 June 2012, <http://www.anglicantaonga.org.nz/News/Common-Life/Cathedral-loses-rose-window>, (accessed 27 June 2015).

agencies, engineers or shonky building practices, moral laxity, or individuals such as the bishop.

Stylized images of the rose window became a symbolic representation, which appeared in jewellery²⁵⁴ and on body tattoos²⁵⁵. Some of the window's shattered pieces, along with what is described on their web page as 'iconic objects such as the cathedral spire' later found their way into the Quake City exhibition mentioned above. These examples show how simple material objects can become evocative of buildings, experiences and events, which may even be inscribed on human bodies, becoming a physical part of the person.

During this June earthquake, more plasterwork fell in the Cathedral, cracks in the masonry opened further and no longer was it considered safe to venture inside. From then onwards the Cathedral was described as a very dangerous building and doubts were beginning to circulate about the viability of its restoration. Negotiations were beginning on how to make it safe. Also there were persistent rumours in the social media that Matthews wanted a new cathedral. In fact both Matthews and Beck²⁵⁶ were reported as saying that the Cathedral would go wherever the centre of the city was finally built, which suggests that early on a new building was envisaged.

23 DECEMBER 2011

Again, when it seemed that seismic activity was settling down, two more large quakes, 5.6 and 5.7²⁵⁷, were experienced in December. These occurred just as negotiations between the Government and Church authorities were finalising decisions on the future of the Cathedral. Beck described these later earthquakes as a huge emotional shock. 'We were starting to get

²⁵⁴ *The Press*, 'Relocated jeweller awaits Arts Centre return', Sponsored content, 11 December 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/business/our-province-our-success/8051598/Relocated-jeweller-awaits-Arts-Centre-return>, (accessed 12 March 2013).

²⁵⁵ K. Lynch, 'Tattoo tribute makes them brothers in arms', *The Press*, 18 February 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/6440229/Tattoo-tribute-makes-them-brothers-in-arms>, (accessed 4 April 2012).

²⁵⁶ C. Gates, 'Cathedral may be knocked down', *The Press*, 16 June 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/5150186/Cathedral-may-be-knocked-down>, (accessed 13 July 2013).

²⁵⁷ When doing a late editing I notice how I have reported the actual sizes of the earthquakes, something I would not have known how to do ten years ago. In fact, Christchurch citizens became very adept at guessing the strength of aftershocks so that in families and workplaces it became almost a game. On the geonet website there is an immediate report of the magnitude of every earthquake.

traction again and now it feels like June 13 again’²⁵⁸, he said. All Anglican Christmas Day services were held outside. Because even more structural damage occurred, arguably these aftershocks consolidated the Government’s decision that the building needed to come down.

The earthquakes changed everything. The apparently stable social structures of the city, such as health, justice, education, government, insurance and economics were disrupted. The stressed staff from these institutions had to cope with damaged or destroyed buildings, increased demands, uncertainty and often challenging personal circumstances. The Earthquake Commission (EQC) had to rapidly expand staff numbers to deal with the thousands of claims being lodged. These earthquakes have presented major economic, political and social challenges for Christchurch and beyond. Ongoing issues have included road closures and continuing infrastructure repairs, lengthy and costly disputes over rebuilding and insurance, along with rehabilitation and mental health concerns. An ongoing political discourse is over who has the decision making power in Christchurch, local or central government? This struggle is reflected at times in the Cathedral debate as will be demonstrated later. After five years, the city, of which the Cathedral was the icon, is no longer the same city. The shape and nature of the emerging Christchurch is subject to ongoing opinion and contestation. The Cathedral is part of this phenomenon.

OTHER REBUILT CATHEDRALS

In reflecting on my own work, it was useful to consider other damaged cathedrals. Around the world are examples of fairly recently damaged, destroyed, restored or rebuilt Cathedrals such as Haiti’s Roman Catholic and Episcopal Cathedrals; California’s Crystal Cathedral; Europe’s war-damaged Cathedrals e.g. Coventry and Dresden. Closer to home is Australia’s Newcastle Christ Church Cathedral, damaged in their 1989 earthquake. Collins and Jordan²⁵⁹ report that the owners, the Anglican Diocese of Newcastle, the insurers and the statutory authorities faced many of the same issues as Christchurch. They too ‘struggled with decision-making at every level’. Australia’s legislation for the preservation of cultural heritage sites,

²⁵⁸ Stuff, (website), ‘Rattled Cantabrians hope for normal Christmas’, *The Press*, 24 December 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6187674/Rattled-Cantabrians-hope-for-normal-Christmas>, (accessed 7 March 2016).

²⁵⁹ B. Collins and J. Jordan, ‘Earthquake Damage and Repair of Christ Church Cathedral, Newcastle NSW’, *first presented at the Seventh International Conference on Structural Faults and Repair, Edinburgh, Scotland, July 1997*, <http://www.newcastlecathedral.org.au/common/download/Earthquakerepairs.pdf>, (accessed 29 April 2016).

the Burra Charter,²⁶⁰ was used in the six years of arguments and court cases that followed. The heritage significance of the building was measured against the criteria of aesthetic, historic, scientific, social and spiritual considerations. That cathedral's importance was found to be 'embodied in its material fabric (including its structural systems), its architecture, its setting, its contents and what it represents to people'. These points are precisely mirrored in the Christchurch situation as demonstrated in this thesis and reflected in the 2016 Christchurch City Council Plan²⁶¹. The heritage arguments, coupled with the disagreements amongst engineers and architects, plus the financial implications, were paramount in both Newcastle and Christchurch. Newcastle's cathedral repairs were completed and the building 're hallowed' in 1997 in a ceremony of over a thousand people including national and church dignitaries²⁶². Intriguingly, I cannot recall reading or hearing of this Cathedral's experience being a model for Christchurch.

However, the rebuilding of Coventry Cathedral has often been quoted as an example that Christchurch could and arguably should follow, as Oestreicher²⁶³ opinioned early on. Yet this war-damaged building's reconstruction only proceeded after huge contention, as sketched by Herbert:

*Following the usual round of hopes and false starts, failed commissions and contentious architectural competitions, journalistic polemics and ecclesiastical bickerings, a New World fundraising and town council machinations, in May of 1962 a new Coventry Cathedral welcomed to its consecration Queen Elizabeth II, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and (through the media) the eyes and ears of a grateful Christian Kingdom*²⁶⁴.

Similarities between the Coventry and Christ Church Cathedral debates abound. The 'political machinations, delays, journalistic polemics, ecclesiastical bickering' are a feature of both. A difference is the reliance on some state funding, as occurred for many of the post-war rebuilt cathedrals in Europe where Church and State are not as separate as they are in New

²⁶⁰ Australia ICOMOS (website), 'Charters, The Burra Charter', <http://australia.icomos.org/publications/charters/>, (accessed 28 April 2016).

²⁶¹ Christchurch City Council Plan, 2016, http://resources.ccc.govt.nz/files/policiesreportsstrategies/natural_and_cultural_heritage_section32_appendix8.3.pdf, p. 74, (accessed 12 May, 2016).

²⁶² Christ Church Cathedral, Anglican Diocese of Newcastle (website)<http://www.newcastlecathedral.org.au/cathedral/earthquake/>, (accessed 28 April 2016).

²⁶³ P. Oestreicher, 'Cathedrals have been rebuilt', *The Press*, 10 March 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/4750904/Cathedrals-have-been-rebuilt/>, (accessed 10 March 2013).

²⁶⁴ J. Herbert, 'Bad Faith at Coventry: Spence's Cathedral and Britten's War Requiem,' *Critical Inquiry* 25, no. 3 (1999) p. 537. Available in JSTOR, (accessed 20 June 2014).

Zealand. Jones and Yarrow²⁶⁵ note that the thirty-year long conservation work at Glasgow's medieval neo-Gothic Cathedral is state sponsored. As already stated, the difficulty in New Zealand is that there is no established, state-funded church and no longer could New Zealand, which was once described as 'Gods Zone'²⁶⁶ be described as religious. The Government could be politically compromised if it contributed to the Cathedral restoration because in fact many of the other major churches in the city, such as the Roman Catholic Basilica and Durham Street Methodist Church were badly damaged or destroyed, and could have an equally valid claim on tax-payer funding. A Church leader recently confided to me that this dilemma is holding up the mediated negotiations.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has set the scene for the thesis. Anglican history in Britain over the last two centuries, the role of Christ Church Cathedral in the founding of Christchurch and its place in the pre-earthquake social life of the city have all been outlined. Each is significant, contributing to the heritage discourse and offering an explanation for the competing theological and ecclesiological stances, which - I argue - have significance in the current controversy. Note has been made of other debates involving the Cathedral, to show how these have provoked public interest and response. Some people suggest they also indicate the contentious and parochial nature of the city. Included also is an indication of the effects of the earthquakes on the Cathedral itself and on the people of Christchurch, provoking a sense of loss and disorientation. Both factors are integral to the way the debate has played out. The drawn out and litigious experience of two other damaged cathedrals has been used to throw light on and differentiate the Christchurch situation. Thus a picture has been painted of the backdrop of the stage on which the social drama of the once and future Cathedral has been enacted.

In the next chapter the actors in the social drama surrounding the future of Christ Church Cathedral are introduced, along with their positioning and alliances.

²⁶⁵ S. Jones and T. Yarrow, 'Crafting Authenticity: An ethnography of conservation practice', *Journal of Material Culture*, 03/2013, vol. 18, no 1, pp. 127-148. Available in Sage Premier, (accessed 20 June 2014).

²⁶⁶ A. Mitchell, *The half-gallon, quarter-acre Pavlova Paradise, Chjristchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs*, 1972.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ACTORS: PEOPLE AND GROUPS CAUGHT UP IN THE DRAMA

*Pythagoras said that this world was like a stage / Whereon many play their parts; the lookers-on, the sage.*²⁶⁷

INTRODUCTION

According to Gell ‘Anthropologists typically view relationships in a ‘biographical’ context’ and ‘the aim of anthropological theory is to make sense of behaviour in the context of social relations’²⁶⁸. In this chapter I introduce the people who became the main actors in the Cathedral controversy, noting their biographical context and positioning and seeking to make sense of their behavior. I give some attention to the groups that they represent because in my opinion this helps to give some understanding of the ways that things developed.

To use the language of the theatre, in Chapter Two, I prepared for the opening of the spectacle by ‘setting the scene’. The stage for this drama is the colonial city of Christchurch, with the backdrop being the history of the city and the Cathedral’s position within it. There is another factor to be considered before I introduce the main actors. The controversy takes place within a wider, non-earthquake related context. Turner illustrated some of his ideas about social drama with the story of the murder in 1170 of Archbishop Thomas Becket at the command of King Henry II²⁶⁹. He considered that both these arch-protagonists were operating in a complex social field ‘where there were many opposed and developing social trends’²⁷⁰. The same is true in the world of this current controversy.

Two particular social trends are significant: secularism and the religious response to post modernism. Firstly, there is the apparently diminishing role of Christianity within New Zealand and shrinking numbers of Anglican members, as evidenced in the last census²⁷¹. This may validate the so-called secularisation theory to some extent. The idea that religion is in

²⁶⁷ J. Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas: A Selection of Plays Illustrating the History of the English Drama from Its Origin down to Shakespeare*, Boston, New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1924, p. 579.

²⁶⁸ A. Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 11.

²⁶⁹ Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors*, 1974.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 60.

²⁷¹ B. Heather, ‘Census points to non-religious New Zealand’, *The Dominion Post*, 11 December 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/9501270/Census-points-to-non-religious-NZ>, (accessed 04 May 2014).

terminal decline in the industrialized world is a prominent argument within the sociology of religion, initiated by the work of Durkheim and Weber, though challenged by Woodhead²⁷².

Secondly, according to Jones, there is a global rise in religious fundamentalism as a reaction to post-modernism²⁷³. Brekke sees it as ‘a notable religious response to global developments reaching different societies and cultures at different times between 1800, at the earliest, and today’²⁷⁴. The fluidity and pervasiveness of both these phenomena are reflected in some of the undercurrents of the Cathedral controversy. I spelt out above how these are affecting the Anglican Church internationally and thus locally.

The plot of this drama is the wide-ranging battle over the future of the city’s damaged icon or symbol. This contested space has engaged actors, whose social positions according to Moore:

*are defined by differential control of resources and access to power. While these conflicts principally centre on the meanings invested in sites, or derive from their interpretation, they reveal broader social struggles over deeply held collective myths. In this way, contested spaces give material expression to and act as loci for creating and promulgating, countering and negotiating dominant cultural themes that find expression in myriad aspects of social life*²⁷⁵.

The validity of this assertion will become evident as the elements within the drama are described, because the Cathedral continues to act as the foci of dominant and conflicting cultural themes including the authorised heritage debate and neo-liberalism.

My research followed the action until December 2015, when the building remains crumbling and forlorn, inhabited by rats and pigeons and surrounded by weeds, in the central square of a city whose central business district is slowly being rebuilt. As my research ended, there was still apparently little chance of resolution of the controversy. As I indicated earlier, the desolate Cathedral has become a signifier of the city’s pain, political wrangles and inability to reach consensus for the future.

²⁷² L. Woodward, ‘The Secularisation Thesis’, *The Religious Studies Project (podcast)*, 20 August 2012, <http://www.religiousstudiesproject.com/podcast/editors-picks-4-linda-woodhead-on-the-secularisation-thesis/> (accessed 18 April 2016).

²⁷³ J. Jones, *Being the Chosen: Exploring a Christian Fundamentalist Worldview*, Farnham, UK, Routledge, 2010. Available from ProQuest Library, (accessed 15 August 2016).

²⁷⁴ T. Brekke, *Fundamentalism: Prophecy and Protest in an Age of Globalization*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 11.

²⁷⁵ S. Low and D. Lawrence-Zuniga, *The Anthropology of space and place*, Malden, MA, Blackwell, 2003.

There are four principal human characters and three major contenders in this drama:

Hon. Gerry Brownlee²⁷⁶

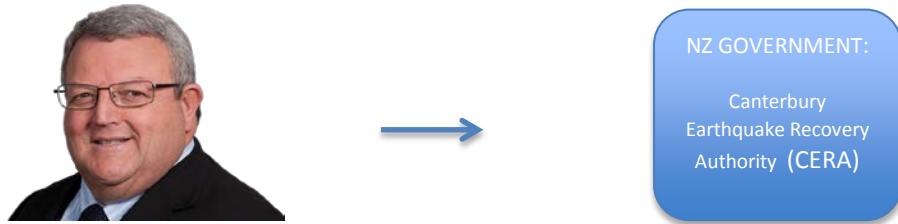


Figure 8: The Hon Gerry Brownlee

The Hon. Gerry Brownlee is Member of Parliament for a Christchurch electorate (Ilam); Minister of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery (until April 2016), then Minister of Greater Christchurch regeneration. Brownlee, a Roman Catholic, has been haunted by an early, no nonsense post-earthquake statement:

Quite frankly people have died in this last earthquake trying to save old buildings. We're not going to do that anymore. My absolutely strong position is that the old dungas (sic)²⁷⁷, no matter what their connection, are going under the hammer (Chapman 2011).

Rt. Rev. Victoria Matthews²⁷⁸

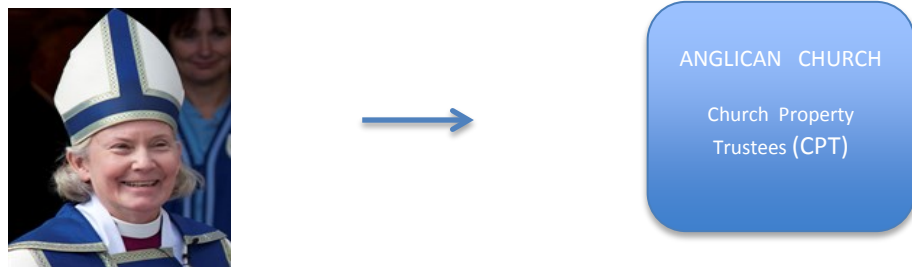


Figure 9: The Rt. Rev. Victoria Matthews

²⁷⁶ Ilam, My National:

https://www.google.co.nz/search?q=hon+gerry+brownlee&biw=1107&bih=731&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&sqi=2&ved=0ahUKEwjAl8CVqMDSAWhBu5QKHyt2Ac0Q_AUIBigB&dpr=1.25#imgrc=y37tx-n1B47JwM: (accessed 12 February 2017)

²⁷⁷ *dunger* (sic), 1 old decrepit car, 2 old worn out machine,
<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/dunger>, (accessed 12 October 2014).

²⁷⁸ Bishop Victoria Matthews, Pilgrim course,
https://www.google.co.nz/search?q=bishop+ victoria+matthews&biw=1107&bih=731&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&sqi=2&ved=0ahUKEwipp6e6rMDSAUItJQKHe2PDTsQ_AUIBigB#imgrc=7CndnOhHTaWVVM: (accessed 12 February 2017).

Bishop Victoria Matthews is Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Christchurch, (the Church). Matthews is a Canadian, previously Associate Bishop of Toronto and then Bishop of Edmonton, elected by the Christchurch Synod in 2008. She is the chairperson of the Church Property Trustees (CPT), the legal owners of the building and the decision makers of its fate.

Hon. Jim Anderton²⁷⁹ and Hon Philip Burdon²⁸⁰

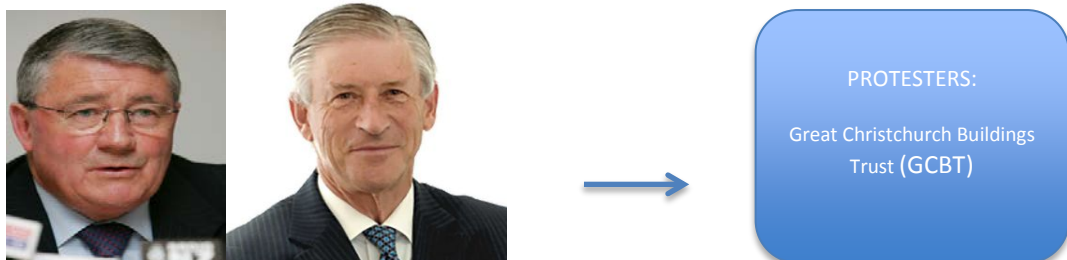


Figure 10: The Hon. Jim Anderton and Hon. Philip Burdon

The Hon. Jim Anderton and Hon. Philip Burdon are joint leaders of the primary protest group, the Great Christchurch Buildings Trust (GCB). Anderton, is a Roman Catholic, former deputy Prime Minister and veteran politician and campaigner who stood as Mayor of Christchurch in the 2010 local body elections. Burdon is a wealthy South Canterbury Anglican businessman and former Minister of the Crown and a Canon Almoner of the Cathedral. He has financed much of the protest action.

As will be seen, these actors all have some social status. As Turner²⁸¹ says, in a social drama ‘the main actors are persons for whom the group which constitutes the field of dramatic action has a high value priority’. In this case, I suggest that the field is the city of Christchurch and the Anglican Cathedral’s positioning within it. Turner sees these persons as ‘star actors’, with their deepest loyalty to their ‘star group’. Below I consider what might be the star groups of these main actors.

Brownlee’s ‘star group’ would be his political party, with his commitment being to the Cabinet of his Government and their legislative processes. For five years, until its termination in April 2016, his bureaucracy was CERA, which had the power to require the making safe of

²⁷⁹ Jim Anderton-The Peoples Mayor,
https://www.google.co.nz/search?q=jim+anderton&biw=1107&bih=731&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&sqi=2&ved=0ahUKEwiO36KRrsDSAhVHWrwKHcWYBTYQ_AUIBigB#imgrc=B2POtZK5ZmM8DM:

²⁸⁰ Burdon, Philip, The National Business Review,
https://www.google.co.nz/search?q=philip+burdon&biw=1107&bih=731&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&sqi=2&ved=0ahUKEwji_MrnrsDSAhUBVbwKHdZ6D0wQ_AUIBigB&dpr=1.25#imgrc=t-3Cil1JMzPKHM:

²⁸¹ Turner, 1980, p. 149.

dangerous buildings and hence Brownlee became more closely involved in the decision making processes for the Cathedral.

Matthews, on her appointment to the Diocese of Christchurch, voiced her deep conviction that she was called by God to lead the Christchurch Anglican Diocese. For eight years she has remained fiercely loyal to this conviction of a divine calling. Her allegiance is to God and the Church, local, national and international. She told me that she does not have to please anyone, apart from God, not even the Church. It could seem, as suggested by some participants, that her 'root metaphor', to use Pepper's²⁸² term, is martyrdom, which is of course a familiar Christian trope. For instance, when I asked how she copes with personal vilification, such as the petition seeking her deportation to Canada, she responded: 'That is the way of Christ. We can expect nothing else'. For Matthews, the 'star group' would be the Church. She exercises considerable ecclesiastical and pastoral power, both within the Church and to some extent beyond. When I told one person who had worked closely with her on several committees that I did not want this to be a thesis about the Bishop, he responded, 'well, that's what it is', describing her as 'a street fighter in cope and mitre'. Matthews's leadership style has been described as autocratic, with a penchant for micromanagement, according to Cropp²⁸³. Several participants stated their belief that the episcopal style in Canada is more hierarchical than in New Zealand. This difference in leadership styles and expectations is, I argue, significant in the Cathedral controversy.

Anderton and Burdon's unusual partnership, hard work and financial commitment over the five years could demonstrate that the GCBT and its stated aim to restore the Cathedral is, for them, a 'star group'. Just why this might be so is open to conjecture, but my interviews with both these men revealed deep concern for the built heritage of Christchurch, passion for the retention of the Cathedral and commitment to the values of the pioneers.

Each of these four individuals has been subjected to considerable personal denigration in the media, particularly in on-line comments following various *Press* articles. As will be further demonstrated in the thesis, each comes with different social, cultural and economic capital, to use Bourdieu's suggestions,²⁸⁴ and relies on the exercise of power, be it ecclesiastical or symbolic, legal, financial or political. The controversy has been interpreted by some as a

²⁸² S. Pepper, 'Introduction: Metaphor in Philosophy', *The Journal of Mind and Behavior*, 1982, Vol. 3, No. 3/4, pp. 197-205

²⁸³ A. Cropp, 'The Unholy Row over Christchurch Cathedral', *North & South*, May 2013, p.46ff.

²⁸⁴ P. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1990.

contest of power and I agree that this is one factor to be considered. Bourdieu argues that any contest of power, which is bringing the other person or group into submission to one's aims and agenda, involves either overt or gentler symbolic violence:

*The gentle, invisible form of violence, which is never recognised as such, and is not so much undergone as chosen, the violence of credit, confidence, obligation, personal loyalty, hospitality, gifts, gratitude, pity - in short, all the virtues honoured in the code of honour - cannot fail to be seen as the most economical form of domination*²⁸⁵.

Turner has shown that in a social drama there can also be resort to physical violence. Matthews told me that at one point, some church leaders feared for her physical safety and advised her not to attend protest marches. Later a close friend of the bishop told me that she sometimes feared for Matthew's safety. This may or may not be realistic, but I would argue that in the Cathedral controversy, the invisible form of violence as outlined above by Bourdieu is in evidence from all sides of the dispute.

The principal actors and groups involved in this social drama then are Brownlee and the Government/CERA, Matthews and the Church/CPT, Anderton and Burdon and the protesters/GCBT. For an understanding of these three entities, it is necessary to describe some of their wider composition. Within both the Church and Government, individuals may espouse different opinions about the Cathedral's fate. Even within the protest groups represented by GCBT, there are different views on the best strategies and preferred outcomes. Whilst these four actors and their groups are the most involved, my argument is that the controversy may be viewed as a split between the Church and the general population of Christchurch, represented by the Christchurch City Council (CCC).

THE GOVERNMENTAL GROUPS

In New Zealand, the system of government is based on the Westminster model. Power is balanced between the Legislature, that is, the elected members of Parliament, the Executive, that is the Cabinet of the ruling party and the Judiciary, that is, judges and the courts system. According to the Ministry of Justice website, 'this separation ensures there are checks and balances within the system and that accountability and impartiality are maintained'²⁸⁶. Post-earthquake, in the governance of the city as well as in the Cathedral controversy, this balancing of power has proved to be significant.

²⁸⁵ Bourdieu 1977, p. 192

²⁸⁶ Ministry of Justice (website), <http://www.justice.govt.nz/courts/the-judiciary/home>, (accessed 07 April 2015).

The NZ Government, in revising the 1983 Civil Defence Act, passed the *Civil Defence Emergency Management (CDEM) Act 2002*²⁸⁷, which detailed legislation for the management of civil emergencies.

Following the 4 September 2010 earthquakes, Parliament almost immediately passed the *Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Act 2010*.²⁸⁸ This Act gave unprecedented ability to the Crown to amend almost any legislation, (including the Historic Places Act 1993²⁸⁹) by Order in Council and without the approval of Parliament. It was described by the Public Issues Committee of the Auckland Law Society as one of the most extreme legislative acts ever seen in New Zealand. Their opinion piece published just prior to the February 2011 earthquakes also stated:

*An open letter issued on September 28, from 27 constitutional law experts from all six New Zealand law faculties, described the act as a "dangerous and misguided step" that constituted "an extraordinarily broad transfer of lawmaking power away from parliament and to the executive branch, with minimal constraints on how that power can be used". Jonathan Temm, president of the New Zealand Law Society, has pointed out that the "powers delegated to ministers by the act are potentially at odds with the principles of the rule of law".*²⁹⁰

Then came the February earthquakes, when the CDEM 2002 Act took over, as referred to above. The hastily put together and severely criticised 2010 Act was repealed on 19 April

²⁸⁷ New Zealand Legislation, Parliamentary Counsel Office, '*The Civil Defence Emergency Management Act 2002*', <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2002/0033/25.0/DLM149789>, (accessed 05 April 2015).

²⁸⁷ New Zealand Legislation. Parliamentary Counsel Office, '*The Canterbury Earthquake Response and Recovery Act*', <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2010/0114/latest/DLM3233004.html>, (accessed 07 April 2015).

²⁸⁸ New Zealand Legislation, Parliamentary Counsel Office, '*The Historic Act 1993*', <http://www.legislation.co.nz/act/public/1993/0038/latest/DLM300511.html>, (accessed 07 April 2015).

²⁸⁹ Public Issues Committee of the Auckland Law Society, 'Quake Law gives unfettered powers', *The Press*, 10 February 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/perspective/4639245/Quake-law-gives-unfettered-powers>, (accessed 07 April 2015).

²⁹⁰ New Zealand Legislation, Parliamentary Counsel Office, '*The Historic Act 1993*', <http://www.legislation.co.nz/act/public/1993/0038/latest/DLM300511.html>, (accessed 07 April 2015).

²⁹¹ Public Issues Committee of the Auckland Law Society, 'Quake Law gives unfettered powers', *The Press*, 10 February 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/perspective/4639245/Quake-law-gives-unfettered-powers>, (accessed 07 April 2015).

2011 and in its place was enacted *The Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011*²⁹¹, with a finite five year life. *The Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA)*, a powerful public service bureaucracy, was set up in Christchurch to lead and coordinate the Government's response and recovery efforts following the earthquakes. CERA answered to the Hon. Gerry Brownlee, Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery.

I mention these issues because they demonstrate the pressure the Government was under, given the unprecedented and ongoing nature of the earthquake series.

I do not wish to interrogate this CER Act in depth but note two provisions. The Governor General is enabled to make Orders in Council amending, within set limitations, a large number of Acts of Parliament, including *Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014*²⁹². All such amendments were to expire by April 2016. Presumably it would have been possible for the Governor General and Cabinet to override the Heritage Act with an Order in Council, to allow the demolition of Christ Church Cathedral. One knowledgeable participant commented that disagreement around the Cabinet table precluded this. According to their website, one protest group gained a top legal opinion that such a move could be contested in the courts. Section 38 of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act which gives CERA the power to deal with dangerous buildings is integral to the Cathedral Controversy.

Following the Christchurch experience, in 2012 there was a 243-page comprehensive review of all the emergency responses, resulting in a number of recommendations to Government. Of particular interest for my purposes were two observations. Firstly:

*There were no national protocols for demolition management and no detectable evidence that particular demolition protocols or alternative methodologies for demolition had been considered in planning, e.g. deconstruction versus explosive demolition*²⁹³.

²⁹¹ New Zealand Legislation, Parliamentary Counsel Office, '*Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011*', <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2011/0012/latest/DLM3653522.html>, (accessed 07 April 2015).

²⁹² New Zealand Legislation, Parliamentary Counsel Office, '*Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014*', <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2014/0026/latest/DLM4005414.html>, (accessed 07 April 2015).

²⁹³ Ministry of Civil Defence, *Independent Review of Civil Defence Emergency Management Response*, http://www.civildefence.govt.nz/memwebsite.nsf/wpg_URL/For-the-CDEM-Sector-Publications-Review-of-the-Civil-Defence-Emergency-Management-Response-to-the-22-February-Christchurch-Earthquake?OpenDocument, (accessed 05 April 2015).

In my opinion, this lack of clear protocols, along with Brownlee's 'old dungas' statement²⁹⁴, led to a public perception, particularly within the heritage constituency, that buildings were being demolished unnecessarily.

Then secondly, several comments in the review refer to dysfunctional relationships within the CCC. For instance:

A report written for the CDEM (Civil Defence) Group after the 4 September earthquake criticised the performance of elements of the CCC and this contributed to the disunity between CCC and the Group, a dysfunctionality that was not resolved at the time of the February earthquake²⁹⁵.

Conflict within the CCC and lack of clarity about some of its functions became more obvious as time went on, which I believe was a factor in the inability of the Church to work with the CCC and had a bearing on the initial breach in relationships detailed later.

CHRISTCHURCH CITY COUNCIL (CCC)

In New Zealand, local body elections are held every three years and were scheduled for October 2010. Prior to this there had been considerable public dissatisfaction with the functioning of the CCC and the leadership styles of the CEO and the mayor. Anderton stood for election as mayor but Parker was re-elected. Less than a year later a senior, high polling Council member, Chrissie Williams, resigned and was reported as:

labelling the organisation "dysfunctional", and lacking in leadership. She talks of a culture where councillors were separated into A and B teams, with the first group given more information than the second²⁹⁶.

Williams' resignation required a by-election for her seat and was won by high profile former Dean, Peter Beck. As mentioned above, Beck's own resignation had been greeted by speculation about a row between him and Matthews and was referred to by a number of my participants. I would suggest, from these two examples, that undercurrents in social relationships, which might normally be amicably resolved, can be blown apart following a

²⁹⁴ Chapman, K., 'Lives before Christchurch damaged heritage buildings', *The Press*, 1 March 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/4715003/Lives-before-Christchurch-earthquake-damaged-historic-buildings>, (accessed 4 April 2015).

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ S. Sachdeva, 'I'm off, says council identity Williams', *The Press*, 15 September 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/5627004/i-m-off-says-council-identity-Williams> (accessed 07 April 2015).

major disaster leading to social upheaval as Weszkalnys²⁹⁷ and Greenspan²⁹⁸ have demonstrated.

In the 2013 CCC elections, former Labour MP Lianne Dalziel won the mayoralty, with Anderton running her campaign. It was suggested to me that her public support for restoration of the Cathedral was part of the deal. However, whilst she said before the election that she favoured restoration, I know of only one statement later in support of that position when she reported, on her Facebook page, that at the opening of the Floral Festival 2014, in front of the barricaded Cathedral, ‘I said my dream come true would be to see the amazing twenty-three metre floral carpet leading us into a restored Christchurch Cathedral once more!’³⁰⁰ Dalziel was, however, present at the media presentation by GCBT and an English benefactor (detailed later), and told *The Press* the Council did not have a position on the Cathedral but she was ‘personally keen to facilitate any move that could contribute to a resolution.’ In July 2015 she and the CCC met with Matthews and Sir Miles Warren when they sought to gauge the Council’s opinion on the latter’s design for a new Cathedral.

One city councilor, Aaron Keown, said after the Church’s March 2012 announcement of deconstruction, that the Cathedral would be demolished ‘over my dead body’. ‘I would be in there chaining myself to the building to stop that and I know lots of other volunteers would come in to do that’³⁰¹. Keown sought to negotiate a televised debate but the Church refused to participate. Keown lost his seat on the Council in the 2014 election.

It will be seen that political actors and their various inscriptions, play a significant part in the social drama under consideration, seeking to influence the final outcome. Right at the end of my research period, one of my participants commented ‘it has all become very political’, whilst another intimated that the Government would find it politically difficult to put money into the Cathedral restoration, given the number of other damaged churches, including the Roman Catholic Basilica. Letters to the paper and on-line comments argue ‘not a cent of ratepayers’ money should go into it.’ In a sense, both local and national government agencies

²⁹⁷ G. Weszkalnys, *Berlin, Alexanderplatz: Transforming Place in a Unified Germany*, New York, Oxford, 2010.

²⁹⁸ E. Greenspan, *Battle for Ground Zero: Inside the Political Struggle to Rebuild the World Trade Center*, New York, Palgrave, 2013.

³⁰⁰ I am unable to recover this statement. Philip Burdon nominated Dalziel for the mayoralty election in October 2016 and she stated that she was for restoration of the Cathedral.

³⁰¹ *The Press*, 05 March 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/6526291/Call-for-TV-cathedral-debate>, (accessed 9 March 2016).

act as moderators and mediators between the Church and the Protesters, using all their political skill.

THE JUDICIARY

One important group then comprises *lawyers and judges* who have been called upon to argue and arbitrate as the controversy progressed. In the Cathedral case, the High Court, the Appeal Court and the Supreme Court have all been appealed to for decision-making. According to Turner²⁹⁹, it is not unusual in such social dramas to appeal to the highest courts available.

Bourdieu has noted that which is in evidence here:

*Law does no more than symbolically consecrate - by recording it in a form which renders it both eternal and universal - the structure of the power relation between groups and classes which is produced and guaranteed practically by the functioning of these mechanisms*³⁰⁰.

I suggest that resort to the law is a form of symbolic violence, a contest of power. In a social drama, recourse to the ritual of the law court seeks a change in the power relationship between the protagonists. Right at the end of my research period, the Government appointed Miriam Dean QC ‘to facilitate discussions between the CPT and GCBT engineers on the cathedral’s condition and engineering options for its ‘repair, restoration or replacement.’³⁰¹ I will later discuss the outcomes of this initiative with its further recommendations in my final discussion in Chapter Seven.

HISTORIC PLACES AND HERITAGE NEW ZEALAND

At the time of the earthquakes, New Zealand’s historic places were administered under the *Historic Places Act 1993* by regional committees and trusts. Because Christ Church Cathedral is a Category One Historic building (designated in 1983) it was subject to this Historic Places Act. However, in 2014, the legislation and governance changed with the passing of *Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014*. The purpose of this Act is ‘to promote the identification, protection, preservation, and conservation of the historical and

²⁹⁹ Turner, 1974.

³⁰⁰ P. Bourdieu, 1977, p. 188.

³⁰¹ M. Dean, ‘Report on facilitated discussions between engineers of Church Property trustees and Great Christchurch Building Trust on engineering options for the repair, restoration or replacement of Christchurch Cathedral’, November 2015, https://www.beehive.govt.nz/sites/all/files/Report_0.pdf, (accessed 14 July 2016).

cultural heritage of New Zealand’³⁰². Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga as a Crown entity has considerable powers. Its eight members are appointed by the Crown, that is the Governor General, the Monarch’s representative, acting on the advice of the Government. Of relevant interest is the requirement of authorisation by this Board’s archaeological officers before the Cathedral can be demolished. This is said to foreshadow further court cases if permission is given or not given for demolition and is one reason for the Government seeking to break the impasse over the future Cathedral.

The regional groups continue nationally as *Historic Places Aotearoa* and locally as *Historic Places Canterbury*. Members of these groups have been vocal in their opposition to the Church’s decision to demolish and build a new Cathedral. At one point, in an attempt at redressive action, officials from this group offered to mediate between the Church and the protest groups but the offer was refused by the Church because heritage advocates were not considered to be neutral.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AND ITS GROUPS

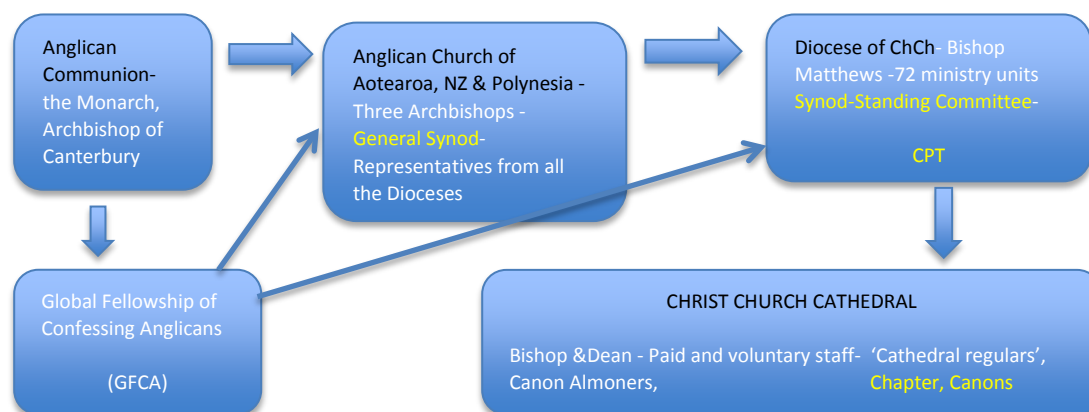


Figure 11: Diagram of the structure of the Anglican Church

Here I describe the structure of the Anglican Church, as well as identifying some of its national and local decision making groups, to allow a better understanding of the saga, its influences and arguments. I have indicated some influence from GFCa into the General and Diocesan synods. The significance of this is explained below.

³⁰² Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga (website), <http://www.heritage.org.nz/> (accessed 03 April 2015).

The Anglican Communion has thirty-eight worldwide autonomous provinces, loosely affiliated under the Archbishop of Canterbury. Its bishops meet every ten years at Lambeth and its archbishops more frequently. Neither Monarch nor Archbishop of Canterbury has authority to intervene in individual provinces and thus in the Cathedral issue.

Archbishops of Canterbury, Rowan Williams and Justin Welby, visited New Zealand in 2012 and 2014 respectively. Both were asked by journalists for their opinion on the Cathedral. Williams ‘distanced himself from the debate’ because it was before the courts³⁰³. Welby said he instinctively took a radical view and urged those fighting for the Cathedral’s restoration to ‘not cling to the past but take an imaginative view of the future’³⁰⁴. The Archbishop of York also visited the city in early 2014³⁰⁵ and urged the city to come together for a new Cathedral. One journalist participant suggested, ‘he just took the Anglican line. He had been briefed. They have to speak as a united voice’³⁰⁶. In my opinion, this indicates a level of suspicion towards the Church from some in the media

There is major unrest in the Anglican Communion – a different social drama. In 2003 the Episcopal (Anglican) Church of USA elected an openly non-celibate gay man, Gene Robinson, as Bishop of New Hampshire. This, along with the earlier ordination of women as priests and bishops, has resulted in huge acrimony and threats of secession, particularly from some large and growing African and Latin American Provinces. In 2008 over 1100 conservative Anglican bishops and leaders met in Jerusalem to discuss what they viewed as ‘moral compromise, doctrinal error and collapse of Biblical witness’³⁰⁷. They formed a Global Fellowship of Confessing Anglicans (GFCA) with the mandate to reform the Anglican Church or as I once heard suggested, ‘complete the Reformation.’ Sadgrove et al., in analysing this movement, have shown that this is an attempt to construct an orthodoxy in response to what is considered heresy, and to have this orthodoxy accepted as the Anglican

³⁰³ M. Greenhill, ‘Archbishop tours Red Zone’, *The Press*, 04 November 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/7904878/Archbishop-tours-Red-Zone>, (accessed 03 April 2015).

³⁰⁴ S. Dashgheib, ‘Welby urges radical design for cathedral’, *The Press*, 16 August 2014. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/10390098/Welby-urges-radical-design-for-cathedral>, (accessed 03 April 2015).

³⁰⁵ H. Clarke, ‘Archbishop of York backs demolishing Christchurch Cathedral’, *3News*, 27 March 2014, <http://www.3news.co.nz/nznews/archbishop-of-york-backs-demolishing-christchurch-cathedral-2014032716-axzz3ZyWZHRtB>, (accessed 03 April 2015).

³⁰⁶ Anonymous Participant, interviewed by PA, 08 April 2014.

³⁰⁷ Anglican Mission in England (website), <https://anglicanmissioninengland.org/about/our-history>, (accessed 14 November 2015).

identity³⁰⁸. Again, I see this as a response to post-modernism and illustrative of Turner's suggestion that influences beyond the field can be at play in a social drama.

The issue of the acceptance of non-celibate homosexual people in church leadership and the ability of priests to perform same-sex marriages is a current controversy in the New Zealand Anglican Church. In 2008 a *Press* headline announced that the Church was in crisis. It stated that in the Christchurch Diocese around a third of parishes were Evangelical but held around half of the Anglican membership³⁰⁹. I have heard plans for secession by some of these parishes if the General Synod agrees with changes to the status quo³¹⁰. These controversies go to the heart of the theological differences within the Church, forming a major sub-text to the Cathedral issue. Because Matthews is involved in Church governance at international, national and local levels, these internal tensions within Anglicanism continually put pressure on her. Evidence of this is her decision to resign from the General Synod group working on the above issues, because she felt it compromised her position and effectiveness within the Diocese.

ANGLICAN CHURCH IN AOTEAROA, NEW ZEALAND AND POLYNESIA

In 1992 the New Zealand Anglican Church, partly in sympathetic response to the Maori Renaissance³¹¹ and recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi, created a new constitution dividing the Church into three sectors called Tikanga: Maori, Pakeha and Pasifika. This Constitution renamed the Church as *The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia*. Each Tikanga is self-governing and provides one of the three co-Archbishops, who provide overall leadership. The Bishopric of *Te Wai Pounamu*³¹² is based in Christchurch.

³⁰⁸ J. Sadgrove et al., 'Constructing the boundaries of Anglican orthodoxy: An analysis of the Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON)', *Religion*, vol. 40, no. 3, July 2010, pp. 193-206.

³⁰⁹ P. Matthews, 'Church in crisis', *The Press*, 15 August 2008, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/christchurch-life/mainlander/582350/Church-in-crisis>, (accessed 07 July 2016).

³¹⁰ At the 2016 General Synod (representatives of all the Dioceses) a further two-year period was agreed before coming to a decision on these matters. Apparently one of the arguments was that 4000-6000 Anglicans were prepared to leave if the Synod changed the status quo. Christchurch was one of the few dioceses to vote against the change.

³¹¹ R. Taonui, 'Ngā tuakiri hōu – new Māori identities', *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, updated 18 September 2013, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-tuakiri-hou-new-maori-identities/page_ (accessed 16 April 2015).

³¹² *Te Wai Pounamu*: Official Maori name for New Zealand's South Island, http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/map/1638/te-wai-pounamu_ (accessed 16 April 2015).

Is Christ Church Cathedral Tikanga Pakeha or Tikanga Maori? Most would say pakeha. For at least twenty years prior to the earthquake, there were efforts to include some *Te Reo*³¹³ into the main services and to have a weekday service in *Te Reo*. As noted below, the now deceased Bishop of Te Wai Pounamu led a publicly reported *karakia* outside the Cathedral for those presumed dead inside. However, there is very little visible connection between the Bishop of Christchurch and the Bishop of Te Wai Pounamu or the Cathedral and Maori. Bishop Gray did not take any role in the official earthquake commemorations. His section of the Church would not, I suggest, be considered a part of the ‘Establishment’, the remnant of British colonialism.

THE ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF CHRISTCHURCH

The Tikanga Pakeha diocese, one of seven, is led by Matthews and extends through Canterbury, Westland and the Chatham Islands and comprises seventy-two parishes³¹⁴ or ministry units³¹⁵. Thus her jurisdiction is considerable. Christ Church Cathedral was the ‘mother church’, the *cathedra*, the symbolic and literal seat of the bishop. The wooden *cathedra* was salvaged from the Cathedral and now resides in the TC in central position. During liturgical occasions Matthews is seated on it. I am reminded of Hamling’s work on the significance of empty, high status chairs which serve as ‘symbolic surrogate for the physical presence of the patriarch’³¹⁶.

In 2009, the Synod³¹⁷ adopted the Bishop’s three-year Strategic Plan comprising three priorities: Christ-centred mission, faithful stewardship and young leaders. These priorities have guided the Church leadership before and following the earthquakes. In particular, mission - with its emphasis on evangelism - and stewardship, with its concerns over financing a cathedral and all the other destroyed Anglican churches - remain as crucial priorities. I note

³¹³ *Te Reo Maori*, the indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand, <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/whakamahia/te-reo-maori/> (accessed 10 July 2016).

³¹⁴ In the style of the Church of England, parishes cover every part of the territory, with clearly defined boundaries, each being led by one or more ordained priests and their team of lay people.

³¹⁵ Ministry units include five church schools and chaplaincies to two universities, hospitals and the armed forces. Diocesan leadership also has oversight of the Christchurch City Mission (which is one of the city’s largest social service agencies), Anglican Care (which has elder care facilities and community houses) and University residential colleges - College House and Bishop Julius Hall.

³¹⁶ T. Hamling, 'Reconciling Image and Object: Religious Imagery in Protestant Interior Decoration', in T. Hamling and C Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects. Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings*, Farnham, England, Ashgate, 2010, p. 327.

³¹⁷ The Synod is representatives from each parish and ministry unit, elected for three years and usually meeting annually. An elected Standing Committee, ‘synod out of session’, is chaired by the bishop and manages the business of the Diocese.

some disagreement or lack of clarity, over what ‘Christ-centred mission’ of a cathedral would actually mean. The significance of the materiality of the building and its contents in people’s lives and faith seems not to be a factor in this understanding of mission.

All Anglican Church Property is legally owned and administered by nine *Church Property Trustees (CPT)* elected by Synod (or Standing Committee) and regulated by the *Anglican (Diocese of Christchurch) Church Property Trustees Act 2003*³¹⁸. This Act, with its reliance on trust law, has been a crucial instrument in the decision making of the courts when required to adjudicate on controversial matters. It has been the CPT’s decision, acting on CERA requirements, to ‘make safe’ the Cathedral by deconstruction to windowsill level, which has been challenged by protesters. This is the overt reason for the controversy.

Under Canon Law, the governance body of the Cathedral is a College of Clerics and Laity, called *the Chapter*, the individuals being termed *Canons of the Cathedral*. The term of office is twelve years but previously was not enforced. Recently Matthews invoked the statute, in spite of considerable argument that stability was required on Chapter because of all the earthquake turmoil. The terms of Anthony Wright (Director of Canterbury Museum and responsible for much of the work on the Cathedral Project Group and Transitional Cathedral) and Jenny May (Director of Heritage Management Services and responsible for much of the salvage of artefacts from the Cathedral), terminated in 2015 and 2016 respectively. Another Canon resigned because of dissatisfaction with process. In my opinion, these departures are indicative of the nature and effects of Matthew’s leadership style.

Not every member of the Church agrees with the processes involved or the initial decision to deconstruct the Cathedral. For instance, two former Canons are foundation members of the GCBT. Other dissenters are from a group of benefactors known as *Canon Almoners*. In the 1990s, this group was set up by a previous dean. Members have given generously of their time, expertise and wealth to the running of the Cathedral, although not all were regular worshippers. The Cathedral website, according to Gates, described them as ‘people of sound standing in the community with genuine interest in this iconic building and the life of the city’³¹⁹. They could be considered amongst the ‘the Establishment’ and wealthy elite of the city and, as one of my participants suggested, were amongst ‘the tribal elders’ of

³¹⁸ Parliamentary Counsel Office, New Zealand Legislation, *Anglican (Diocese of Christchurch) Church Property Trustees Act 2003*, <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2002/0033/latest/DLM149789.html>, (accessed 20 September 2014).

³¹⁹ C. Gates, *The Press*, 11 December 2011 <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/6121026/Division-over-Christchurchs-cathedral>, (accessed 12 April 2014).

Christchurch. Some of these people have publicly opposed the bishop. One, Haydn Rawstron, who has taken a particular interest in keeping the Cathedral Choir financially viable, asked in *The Press* following Beck's resignation, 'Technically speaking, how could Canterbury rid itself of a bishop, were that bishop adjudged to make serious errors of judgment in the province's post-earthquake situation?'³²⁰. This recalls Henry II's query about Thomas Beckett in Eliot's drama, 'Will no-one rid me of this troublesome priest?'³²¹ Burdon is a Canon Almoner and another, Sir Miles Warren, offered an alternate design for a restored Cathedral. Without doubt, this Canon Almoners group represents considerable economic and cultural capital and it could be argued, could have been a valuable resource in early decision-making but apparently weren't consulted.

One of the criticisms of Matthews that I heard in several interviews was that she did not initially appear to consult this group or other knowledgeable Church elders and later seemed to spurn meaningful dialogue and efforts to reach a consensus. In my opinion, this illustrates one of the perceived difficulties in Matthews's leadership style. Because of the necessity of working together with Maori and the challenges of honouring the Treaty of Waitangi, many New Zealanders in leadership positions have become aware of the obligation and value of meaningful consultation and collaboration. This apparent lack of consultation with others outside the decision making bodies, is a feature of the controversy addressed by Judge Chisholm's call for a 'hot-tubbing'³²² (legal slang for concurrent expert advice) and the Court's requirement of public consultation (see below).

CATHEDRAL STAFF

The number of employed staff over the years has depended on available finance. There has always been a chief pastor, the *Dean of Christchurch*, appointed by the Bishop. In 2011, nine people formed the employed team, whilst the day-to-day running of services, visitor guidance, stewardship, cleaning, floral arrangement and so forth were heavily dependent on

³²⁰ T. Wall, 'Division over Christchurch's Cathedral', *The Press*, 11 December 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/6121026/Division-over-Christchurchs-cathedral>, (accessed 23 February 2013).

³²¹ P. Roberts, 'Thomas Becket: The Construction and Deconstruction of a Saint from the Middle Ages to the Reformation,' in B. Kienzle (ed.), *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons: Proceedings of the International Symposium*, (Kalamazoo, 4-7 May 1995), *Textes et études du moyen âge* 5 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des Instituts d'études médiévales, 1996), 1-22.
https://www.reddit.com/r/AskHistorians/comments/27ku1j/will_noone_rid_me_of_this_troublesome_priest_when/, (accessed 14 July 2016).

³²² C. Gates, 'Judge calls for 'hot tubbing'', *The Press*, 06 March 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/8390039/Judge-calls-for-cathedral-hot-tubbing>, (accessed 14 October 2013).

voluntary labour. Most of the staff and some volunteers were in the Cathedral during both the Boxing Day 2010 and February 2011 earthquakes.

The Dean, at the time of the earthquakes, was an Englishman, Oxford educated Peter Beck, who came to New Zealand in 1981 and was appointed Dean in 2002. He was largely responsible for marketing the Cathedral as ‘the heart and soul of the city’ and had a good relationship with former mayor, Gary Moore, other city dignitaries and the media. Several of my participants noted that there had been ‘behind the scenes’ tension between Beck and Matthews prior to the earthquake and this came to a head in December 2011 when Beck publicly resigned. Because Beck had always maintained that he had the best job in the Church, I can only assume this move was because he and the bishop were not getting on, even before the fate of the Cathedral was questioned. In the midst of the media frenzy over his resignation, Matthews complained ‘I have been treated pretty shabbily. I have a ministry to serve, and rude letters are not going to send me packing ... I think a lot less of Kiwi hospitality than I did earlier’. ³²³ A difference of opinion about the role of the Dean and the Cathedral in the life of the city, Beck’s high media profile and Matthew’s decision that all funds raised needed to be shared by the parishes, were cited by my participants as among causes for the rift.

Northern Irish-born, Oxford educated theologian, Lynda Patterson came to New Zealand in 2002, trained as an Anglican priest and was appointed as Theologian-In-Residence to the Cathedral in 2006. She became Acting Dean on Beck’s resignation and was appointed, as the first female Dean of Christchurch, in December 2013. Loved and respected by the local and wider Church community, she bore much of the hostility of those opposed to the Cathedral demolition. Patterson died suddenly and unexpectedly in July 2014, aged forty years, whilst living with Matthews in the latter’s sleep-out. (Matthew’s house was demolished after the December 2011 earthquakes and Patterson’s was almost uninhabitable, with its damp mould suspected by some of contributing to her health problems.)

Other staff included Nicky Lee, Volunteer Manager who had a pivotal role post earthquake in salvaging some of the artefacts, fielding many enquiries about objects in the Cathedral and supporting various pastoral care initiatives; Chris Oldham, the Administrator/Verger was also responsible for the retrieval of a number of important artefacts and dealing with matters of insurance and storage. Lee and Oldham remain on the staff of the TC.

³²³ C. Gates, ‘No strife with dean, bishop says’, *The Press*, 13 December 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6129104/No-strife-with-dean-bishop-says>, (accessed 9 March 2013).

Noticeably absent from formal participation in dialogue about the Cathedral is the congregation, arguably the most affected cohort, accused in the media at one point of holding the city to ransom. A number have expressed to me in interviews or in conversation their ambivalence about what has happened and the decisions being made. At the monthly after-church forums for the 250 regular worshipers, they were updated on progress or lack thereof, but I noticed from the beginning a shutting down of any debate around how things were progressing. This seems to be a feature of this controversy. By that I mean there has not been the kind of initial airing of opinions and community consultation and collective sharing of ideas that one might have expected.

PROTESTING GROUPS

A number of existing or specifically formed groups, prominent citizens and other members of the public have opposed the decision of the CPT to deconstruct the Cathedral and build in its place a new Cathedral, incorporating the old and the new. Some are Anglicans. As will be demonstrated below and later, these groups have used a variety of protest mechanisms, including media releases, posters, petitions and street marches.

The Great Christchurch Buildings Trust (GCBT) was initially set up to contest the demolition of historic buildings in Christchurch following the Feb 22 earthquake. Because the two chairmen, Anderton and Burdon came from opposite sides of the political and class divide, their partnership has provoked comment and explanation. The wealthy Burdon and his campaign to restore the Cathedral could be considered elitist, so a co-leader with a history of fighting for the ‘underdog’ and a record of saving some historic buildings in Auckland was a canny political choice. I note the age of the trustees and the fact that there are no women trustees, though one woman whom I have not met was a key person, I was told, in setting up the trust.

The other Trust members are two retired Anglican clergy, both former Cathedral Canons: Rev David Morell, a member of the Canterbury District Health Board (CDHB), former Christchurch City Mission director and a well-known member of the Cathedral congregation. The other is Rev Graeme Brady³²⁴, an international fundraiser who raised funds for 1990s earthquake strengthening of the Cathedral. The other two are businessman Mike Norris and Peter Graham, a retired international barrister and writer. A number of my participants

³²⁴ I recall in the mid-1990s Brady wrote a letter (which I have been unable to trace), to the editor of the Christchurch Press, bemoaning what he considered a takeover by women of the Anglican Church.

considered that there was a misogynist element in the current debate. Given the former patriarchal nature of Christchurch society, this is a possibility. There are people in and out of the Church who do not agree with women bishops. Others noted that the membership of the GCBT were mostly in their eighth decade. One could, as some have done, construct the controversy as a power struggle between a strong woman and a group of ageing men. I do not wish to pursue a feminist analysis of this situation although that could be fruitful. I do agree with Bourdieu's statement:

*Social representations of the different ages of life, and of the properties attached by definition to them, express, in their own logic, the power relations between the age-classes...They thereby rank among the institutionalised instruments for maintenance of the symbolic order, and hence among the mechanisms of the reproduction of the social order whose very functioning serves the interests of those occupying a dominant position in the social structure, the men of mature age*³²⁵.

The combined legal, business, political and economic skill of this group of older men, combined with their understanding of the Anglican Church and their rhetoric of warfare, campaigns and battles, have made them the public face of opposition to the Church's decisions. Anderton kindly allowed me access to his archives deposited in the University of Canterbury Macmillan Brown Library. These confirmed his political nous, organisational and networking ability, including access into the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)³²⁶.

Three members of the GCBT were interviewed and one declined. Graeme Brady's views were outlined in a Press article³²⁷. These interviews revealed considerable bewilderment about the Church's position, which Burdon publicly called 'bizarre'³²⁸; their puzzlement over

³²⁵ Bourdieu, 1977, p. 165.

³²⁶ I note that the immediate past Chair of ICOMOS NZ is Jenny May ONZM, Director of Heritage Management Services and post-earthquake the principal heritage consultant to the CCC heritage earthquake recovery team. She was formerly a Chapter representative on the Cathedral Planning Group but resigned due to conflicts of interest and a degree of opposition to the Church's direction. Her situation is, I would suggest, indicative of the entangling of networks and the challenge to relationships which has occurred after the earthquakes and in connection to the Cathedral Controversy. May provided me with many useful insights in the two interviews that I had with her. It will be seen that many of the artefacts retrieved from the Cathedral with a number in use in the TC were because of her salvage work.

³²⁷ P. Matthews, 'Unholy war over Cathedral', *The Press*, 29 March 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/9883213/Unholy-war-over-cathedral>, (accessed 09 March 2016).

³²⁸ P. Burdon, 'Bishop's attitude to Cathedral 'bizarre'', *The Press*, 14 March 2014, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/perspective/9826910/Bishops-attitude-to-Cathedral-bizarre>, (accessed 10 July 2014).

the personality and behaviour of the bishop; expression of personal hurt over being referred to as ‘unchurched’; astonishment over the Church’s refusal of their offers to assist with fundraising. Their publicity demonstrates a real desire to save the Cathedral as a sign of hope for the citizens of Christchurch³²⁹, which, in my opinion, is linked to issues of symbolism, attachment and identity explored in other chapters. This agenda has been subject to various interpretations, such as bullying by the old boy’s network, an old man’s hobby³³⁰ and as mentioned above, a contest of power. I asked several protestors why they didn’t form one group and was assured that they all talk to one another, although I noticed some criticisms amongst them. GCBT seemed to believe that they were the most influential group and if there were to be negotiations with the Church, they would be able to persuade the others what the best possible deal would be. They have been the negotiators in the later consultation process initiated by the Government .

Restore Christchurch Cathedral (RCC) is a second, more amorphous group formed by Mark Belton, a forestry consultant and described to me by a member of the GCBT as the ‘Sinn Fein’ of the protest groups. Certainly he has appeared less restrained in his condemnation of the bishop. Their website states:

*We see Restoration of the Cathedral as essential to the recovery of the spirit and identity of our city, an historic legacy to pass on to future generations to appreciate and enjoy. Most importantly, Restoration would be a healing process for our earthquake-wounded community*³³¹.

Thus again restoration of the Cathedral is linked with the spirit of the city, identity, patrimony and healing.

Interests in Conserving the Identity of Christchurch (IconIC) is a diverse group of heritage professionals, developers and inner city business people. They formed after February 2011 (following Brownlee’s ‘old dungas’ assertion) to oppose the demolition of historic buildings in what they saw as a ‘clean slate’ approach of Civil Defence and CERA. Four years later, their main publicity appeared to be a Facebook presence, with items of protest about the possible demolition of various Christchurch buildings. The Chairperson is architectural

³²⁹ GCBT (website), www.amazingcathedral.co.nz, (accessed 07 February 2015).

³³⁰ P. Mathews, 2013.

³³¹ Restore Christchurch Cathedral (website), www.restorechristchurchcathedral.co.nz , (accessed 07 February 2015).

historian and University of Canterbury Associate Professor Ian Lochhead, who has previously published books on architecture and the Cathedral (see Bibliography).

The Christchurch Civic Trust was established in 1965 and according to its website is:

*administered by a board of 14 members, all being volunteers drawn from a wide range of backgrounds. Monthly meetings are held to discuss current issues, formulate and monitor proposals for new ventures, initiate action to raise funds from appropriate sources, solicit public views and, where necessary, to take action through appropriate statutory or administrative channels in order to resolve matters of contention*³³².

It has had a number of successful projects, such as initiating the development of the Christchurch Arts Centre when the UC withdrew from the site, and the leading of a successful appeal in the Environment Court against the restructuring of Canterbury Museum. I was told that some of the people involved in the latter case are now prominent in the Cathedral case. It seems that there is also a linkage of this group into the early 2000s debate over the Cathedral Visitors' Centre (see Chapter Two). Each year the group grants awards to various heritage projects. The Trust itself does not seem to have a public profile in the current Cathedral debate, although some of its members comment as individuals in Letters to the Editor, whilst some are connected to other protest groups. However, the Civic Trust was an inaugural member of Shop 7, which was set up post-earthquake to promote heritage issues.

*The Wizard of New Zealand*³³³, (English born-1932 Ian Brackenbury Channell) was a familiar figure in the pre-earthquake Cathedral Square. He kept a ladder in the Cathedral porch and most mid-days since 1974, from November to Easter, could be seen and heard haranguing the public from atop the ladder in the middle of the Square. One of his memorable stances was: 'We are not Christian. We are Church of England'. In recent times he was mostly seen wearing flowing black robes and a pointed wizard's hat. In 1982 the New Zealand Art Gallery Directors Association issued a statement that in their opinion the Wizard was an authentic living work of art. The CCC appointed him Wizard of Christchurch, granting him an annual honorarium for his services to tourism³³⁴. In 1990, the Prime Minister, Mike Moore, an old friend, appointed him the official Wizard of New Zealand, something of a national icon of New Zealand. In 2009 he was awarded the Queen's Service

³³² Christchurch Civic Trust (website), <http://www.christchurchcivictrust.org.nz/>, (accessed 02 October 2014).

³³³ Christchurch City Libraries (website), <http://my.christchurchcitylibraries.com/the-wizard/>, (accessed 15 July 2016).

³³⁴ P. Matthews, 'The once and future wizard', *The Press*, 01 January 2016, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/christchurch-life/75337066/The-once-and-future-wizard>, (accessed 24 August 2016).

Medal for his work in this role. Moore is currently New Zealand's Ambassador to the USA. The Wizard has publically threatened to take the Cathedral issue to Washington and has indeed visited the Ambassador there since the earthquakes. Some I spoke with acknowledged the Wizard to be a very intelligent and articulate man, a university graduate and former lecturer in sociology, whilst others I interviewed considered him mad, with a brain addled by drugs. Whatever, he remains an enigma and has been a vocal opposer of the bishop. It is difficult to analyse just how much influence he has had, but certainly he has provided a vivid counterbalance to the bishop.

Following the February 2011 earthquake, the Wizard announced on national television that he was leaving Christchurch. He was deeply saddened by the destruction, felt it was the end of an era and that repairs to the city were beyond his 'wildest powers'³³⁵. However, three days later he returned, as again reported on national television with the reporter Mark Sainsbury suggesting 'you think Christchurch, you think the Cathedral, you think the Wizard'³³⁶. Both noted he had come back to spread his magic. He initiated some of the redressive actions in the social drama and over the five years has held a prominent discursive position.

OTHER SIGNIFICANT PLAYERS

Two major influential groups of experts are the engineering community and quantity surveyors, as will be seen from my later discussion of the controversy. Arguably resolution is dependent on their expertise. This is consistent with Smith's argument that such experts are often called in to further what she calls the 'authorised heritage debate'³³⁷.

Throughout the controversy, the role of the media, particularly *The Press* should not be underestimated. One journalist told me that their reporters, like much of the population, were divided in their views about what should happen and this was reflected in their articles. Another person raised the issue of media bias:

³³⁵ Newshub, 'Wizard says goodbye to Christchurch', *3News*, 25 February 2001, <http://www.3news.co.nz/nznews/wizard-says-goodbye-to-christchurch-2011022508>, (accessed 01 April 2015).

³³⁶ Television One, <http://tvnz.co.nz/close-up/christchurch-wizard-returns-video-4042459>, (accessed 01 April 2015).

³³⁷ L. Smith, *The Uses of Heritage*, London, Routledge, 2006.

*There are three tenets of journalism - that a story should be fair, accurate and balanced. And I've kept a lot of the cathedral stories and they sure as eggs don't tick all three of those boxes*³³⁸.

The congregation was warned not to believe everything they read in the paper; Standing Committee became concerned by the way the Church's press releases were manipulated; the (previous) *Press* editor was accused of anti-church bias and challenged to present a more balanced picture. Several people expressed to me their aversion to two investigative journalists, Charlie Gates and Mike Yardley. One journalist participant said that like the rest of the population, his colleagues were divided in their views on what should happen to the Cathedral. Certainly *The Press* in particular, but also television and radio, helped to keep the issues alive. As one person commented, 'They have to sell newspapers'.

Some individuals, such as historians, heritage professionals and artists have utilised their professional expertise to indicate or argue their various positioning. In the same way theologians Brown³³⁹, and Booth³⁴⁰ have called attention to the interior and functionality of the Cathedral, arguing that any new design needed to take cognisance of both; psychiatrist Alma Rae³⁴¹ has argued that the restoration of the Cathedral is integral to psychological healing for Christchurch citizens and that its demolition would create more grief; art historian Mane-Whaeoki is cited by Focamp³⁴² as expressing a strong option for restoration on historical and aesthetic grounds. These viewpoints have all been added to the flavor of the drama.

CONCLUSION

The major actors and their contending groups in the Cathedral Controversy have been introduced, along with others groups caught up in the drama. By outlining the roles and relationships between the various individuals and groups, I have hinted at some of the tensions which undergird of this controversy.

³³⁸ Anonymous Participant, interviewed by PA, 01 March, 2014.

³³⁹ C. Brown, 'Cathedral Fathers insisted on stone', *The Press*, 3 February 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/perspective/6359038/Church-fathers-insisted-on-stone>, (accessed 10 May 2013).

³⁴⁰ K. Booth, 'A Place to be Church', *Unpublished paper*, Christchurch, 2014.

³⁴¹ A. Rae, 'Christ Church Cathedral needs to stay', *The Press*, 29 July 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/perspective/8975047/Christ-Church-Cathedral-needs-to-stay#comments>, (accessed 04 May 2014).

³⁴² P. Focamp, 'experts want to save cathedral', *The Press*, 9 August 2014, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/10366180/Experts-want-to-save-the-cathedral>, (accessed 10 December 2014).

In the next two chapters the trajectory of this Controversy is followed, using a dramaturgical motif, with some emphasis given to the rituals and performances which were integral to the overall drama.

CHAPTER FOUR: WRINKLES APPEAR IN THE SOCIAL FABRIC

*A social drama is 'processually structured,' I mean that it exhibits a regular course of events which can be grouped in successive phases of public action*³⁴³.

INTRODUCTION

A pervasive response to my question of '*why is the Cathedral's future controversial?*' was a simple '*this is Christchurch*'. Whether or not a city has a specific identity or spirit is an issue pursued by Bell and de Shalit³⁴⁴. By considering nine international cities and the characteristic for which each is known, such as religion in Jerusalem, romance in Paris and nation building in Singapore, they argue for the importance in a globalised world of such defining characteristics. They define a city's spirit or ethos as 'a set of values and outlooks that are generally acknowledged by people living in a city', whilst acknowledging that not everyone in the city would necessarily claim the particular values. The characteristic spirit of a culture, era, or community is manifested in its attitudes and aspirations. In the past, the ethos of Christchurch could be described as conservative, parochial and argumentative. People engaged energetically in vigorous debate, sometimes with far reaching effects, such as the women's suffrage movement, which gained the vote for women in 1893³⁴⁵ and the founding of the wartime charity CORSO³⁴⁶.

One usually perceptive person who has lived and worked in the other three major New Zealand cities, thought that Christchurch was different in the way that people respond to change. Several mentioned the question '*what school did you go to?*' as being a feature in initial social engagement and one person who has employed a lot of people in Auckland told me that would never be an interview question there. Others applauded the level of debate that seems to characterise any change in the use of space in the city, seeing this as evidence of interested involvement and a feature of being smaller, with a number of long established families. I suggest that it is also evidence of the pre-earthquake influence of the values that drove the establishment of the city.

³⁴³ Turner, 1986, p. 34.

³⁴⁴ D. Bell & De-Shalit, A. *The spirit of cities: why the identity of a city matters in a global age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011, p. 2.

³⁴⁵ www.nzhistory.net.nz/the-new-zealand-council-of-organisations-for-relief. accessed 13.07.15

³⁴⁶ Council for Relief Services Overseas 'CORSO formed', URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/the-new-zealand-council-of-organisations-for-relief-overseas-corso-formed>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 5-Jun-2015

Thus, the way the Cathedral controversy unfolded demonstrates the ethos or spirit of the city³⁴⁷, that is the underlying, often unspoken values of Christchurch itself, because, as Oliver-Smith and Hoffman assert:

*Disasters...often reveal the deeper social grammar of a people that lies behind their day-to-day behaviour. Disasters also display and articulate the linkages between the local community and larger structures*³⁴⁸.

The disaster produced by the Christchurch disaster displayed the usually unnoticed social forces at work in the city – issues such as the power of certain groups of people and the importance of particular places, buildings or communities, with their individual and collective attachments.

My description of the Cathedral controversy is framed as social drama, employing Victor Turner's understanding of the ways conflict in a social setting is dealt with. I have used this model because it assists an appreciation of the convoluted process of what happened when the Church decided to deconstruct its Cathedral and construct a new one. Throughout, I have sought to 'look below the surface,' taking note of the ways the conflict developed, the strategies attempted to deal with it and the particular factions involved in it, because as Turner argues:

*Through the social drama one may sometimes look beneath the surface of social regularities into the hidden contradictions and conflicts in the social system. The kinds of redressive mechanism deployed to handle conflict, the pattern of factional struggle, and the sources of initiative to end crisis, which are all clearly manifest in the social drama, provide valuable clues to the character of the social system.*³⁴⁹

In this chapter, I begin by presenting some early activities which occurred before what I term 'the breach', but which were indicative of developing tensions within the social system. Throughout I note the complex networks of actors, with the various presentations, rituals and texts involved.

More specifically, what has happened is as Turner stated:

... an eruption from the level surface of ongoing social life, with its interactions, transactions, reciprocities, its customs for making regular, orderly sequences of

³⁴⁷ D. Bell and A. De-Shalit, *The Spirit of Cities: Why the Identity of a City Matters in a Global Age*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2011.

³⁴⁸ Oliver-Smith and Hoffman, 'Introduction: Why Anthropologists Should Study', 2002, p. 10.

³⁴⁹ Turner, 1957, p. xvii.

*behaviour. It is propelled by passions, compelled by volitions, overmastering at times any rational considerations*³⁵⁰.

This work will show how people's passions, choices and decisions impacted the course of the drama.

I have outlined already the effects of the 2010-2011 seismic activity on the city of Christchurch and the Anglican Cathedral and congregation in particular. I have pointed out the role of central Government, through the Christchurch Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 and the bureaucracy (CERA), set up to administer this Act, in leading and coordinating the recovery of the city. CERA endeavoured to do its work in partnership with the Christchurch City Council (CCC) and private owners, which in the Cathedral's case are the Church Property Trustees (CPT).

The antecedents to the establishment of the city and the physical and metaphorical place of the Cathedral have been detailed. Later I will show how my research reveals the myriad ways in which many citizens feel a connection to the Cathedral building and its material contents and will argue that the seeming lack of appreciation of this sentiment is one of the principal causes of the controversy. I have demonstrated the pre-earthquake city-church connections, with the involvement in the ongoing life of the Cathedral of the cultural and business communities and the significant financial commitments of the CCC and Canon Almoners over the previous two decades I will note the prominent early post-earthquake profile of Bishop Matthews and Dean Beck as the city sought to come to terms with the disaster. In other words, I argue that the Anglican Church was firmly embedded in the social structure of Christchurch, with its Cathedral, being considered the symbol or icon of the city.

Almost five years on, as my research finishes, there has been a group, including Moore and members of the current CCC, which expresses dissatisfaction with the role of central Government in the rebuild of the city. They seek more democracy and local involvement when the CER Act is replaced in April 2016 with new legislation and bureaucracy (called Regenerate Christchurch)³⁵¹. The tension between local and national government has at times been palpable and, I suggest, has become a factor in the controversy. This tension was becoming obvious even before the earthquakes.

³⁵⁰ Turner, 1986, p. 90.

³⁵¹ C. Meier, 'Christchurch rebuild: From recovery to 'regeneration'', *The Press*, 25 July 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/business/the-rebuild/69943811/christchurch-rebuild-from-recovery-to-regeneration>, (accessed 12 June 2016).

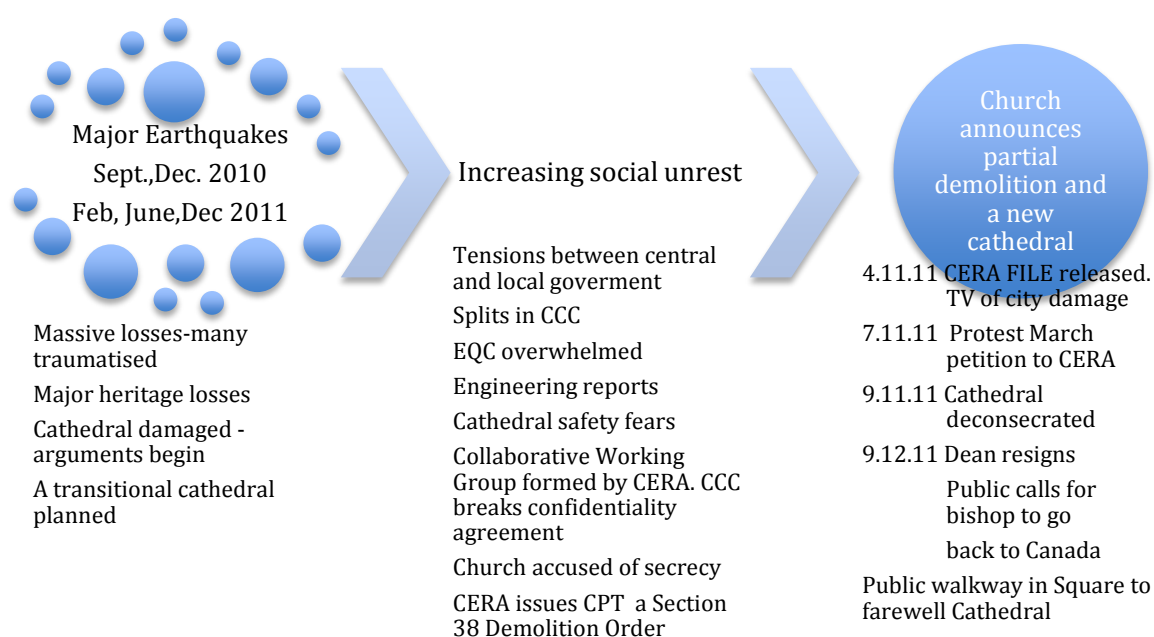


Figure 12: Diagram of the Lead-ups to the Cathedral Controversy

In the immediate aftermath of the February earthquake, the Mayor and Dean stated that the Cathedral would be rebuilt stone by stone. Almost immediately art commentator Andrew Wood asserted in *The Press* that ‘Cantabrians are unlikely to settle for anything less than a meticulous and exact restoration of Christ Church Cathedral’³⁵². This put a stake in the ground that has been contested ever since.

Six weeks later, in a *Press* perspective piece, Katie Pickles suggested that the earthquakes had provided ‘a natural break with our colonial past’, adding:

*Perhaps most symbolic of the all-encompassing imperial stamp was the Anglican Cathedral. A long time in the planning, the main building was ready in 1881 and provided the iconic centre of colonial Christchurch. The Christ Church Cathedral exists for many as a hollow icon with good branding potential – an image to be tattooed on to an arm, placed on a letterhead, or stamped on a wheelie bin. It calls out "Christchurch" in all its multiplicity of meanings, promising everything and nothing at once*³⁵³.

³⁵² Wood, ‘Cantabrians are unlikely to settle’, *The Press*, 12 March 2011. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/4880078/Victorian-legacy-worth-restoring>

³⁵³ Pickles, 08 April 2011.

This opinion was sharply contested a week later by Lorraine North³⁵⁴, chair of the Christchurch Arts and Heritage Trust. She referenced the history and values of the founding of Christchurch and the Cathedral, the intrinsic value of architectural beauty and accumulated cultural capital and the significance of the Cathedral to the identity of the city and the tourist industry. Later these all became discourses in the controversy and thus were an early warning to those who had ears to hear.

Then later in the month Dr George Parker, a tutor in Theatre Studies at UC, in part agreement with Pickles acknowledged:

Christchurch is bound by old class values, a provincialism based in the stoic masculine ethos of the pioneer settlers with all the associated puritan attitudes... Most of all, the city is overwhelmed with an old fart mentality that drives away many young - especially in the creative industries.

As already mentioned, the ethos of the city was, in my opinion, as Parker, Pickles and McBride (above) describe it. Nevertheless, Parker argued for the retention of old relics because:

they provide a sense of history, of where you come from, markers that provide a sense of identity that is quite different to anywhere else...And I can tell you from experience that discovering this heritage, its detail and nuance, is hugely exciting and can be the source of ongoing creative work³⁵⁵.

This could indicate a personal ambivalence that I consider was prevalent at the time and continues to be observed. Later, towards the end of my research, George Parker argues for the role of the arts in the rebuilding of the city and the shaping of a new identity:

Now is exactly the time to develop innovative interdisciplinary collaborations such as this (the revitalization of the restored Arts Centre) that question an identity growing up through the cracks (physical, political, cultural, social and economic). It is this kind of contemporary performance that can distinguish the pioneering spirit of Otautahi³⁵⁶ and utilise the arts to revitalise the heart of the city³⁵⁷

³⁵⁴ L. North, 'Victorian legacy worth restoring', *The Press*, 13 April 2014, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/4880078/Victorian-legacy-worth-restoring>, (accessed 04 May 2012).

³⁵⁵ G. Parker, 'University can revitalise the city', *The Press*, 2 April 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/4923330/University-can-revitalise-the-city>, (accessed 04 May 2012).

³⁵⁶ *Otāutahi*: 'the place of Tautahi', referring to Te Potiki Tautahi, a Ngai Tahu chief. *Otāutahi* refers to a small pa on the Avon River, near Kilmore St. and in 1930 was adopted as a general Maori name for Christchurch, <http://my.christchurchcitylibraries.com/ti-kouka-whenua/otautahi/>, (accessed 15 November 2015).

³⁵⁷ G. Parker, 'It's time for artists to question our sense of place and identity', *The Press*, 01 June 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/68966886/its-time-for-artists-to-question-our-sense-of-place-and-identity>, (accessed 15 November 2015).

Thus, I would contend, within two months of the February earthquake and in the midst of the numerous aftershocks which followed, the lines were already being drawn in the battle for the Cathedral and with it, some argued, the identity of Christchurch. Certainly my research suggests that each of the issues raised - history and heritage, symbolism, aesthetics, economics and colonial attitudes as in 'the old boys' network', were discourses from the beginning. Dines demonstrated, using ethnographic reflections of two Italian cities' (Naples and L'Aquila) post-earthquake experience, how cultural heritage became politicized after these events³⁵⁸. The arguments being used in Christchurch by those requiring reinstatement of the Cathedral are in fact part of what Smith terms 'the authorised heritage debate', drawing its legitimacy from 'the power/knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts'³⁵⁹. I will continue to show how extensively this debate and experts have added their voices to this current controversy.

After a period of 'betwixt and between' liminality, one could even say *communitas* (or at least community feeling of all being in this together), toward the latter part of 2011 chinks began to appear in the social structure of Christchurch. Warning of this development was predicted by international disaster experts³⁶⁰ attending an early conference in Christchurch and which one commentator later suggested was inevitable. There seemed to be an east-west 'us' and 'them' split developing, with many people, particularly in east Christchurch, still living in severely compromised situations³⁶¹. The Church was actively involved in this eastern part of the city and, I suggest, was putting its allegiance to this section of society, as opposed to 'the Establishment'. Certainly Matthews argued throughout the five years that 'Christ-centred mission' precluded spending huge amounts restoring one building, when people remained homeless or in unrepaired dwellings.

³⁵⁸ N. Dines, 'Ethnographic Reflections on 'Oppositional Heritage Discourse in Two Post-Earthquake Italian Cities', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2016. Available on Tandfonline, (accessed 16 May 2016).

³⁵⁹ Smith, 2006, p. 11.

³⁶⁰ Press Association, 'Bombing, bushfire, earthquake experts to speak', *Sunday Star Times*, 21 August 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/5480023/Bombing-bushfire-and-earthquake-experts-to-speak>. (accessed 25 March 2015).

³⁶¹ O. Carville and A. Turner, 'The tribes that bind Christchurch', *The Press*, 07 September 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/9136868/The-tribes-that-bind-Christchurch>. (accessed 24 June 2014).

Some citizens believed that democracy had been denied the city by the CER Act and the extraordinary powers of the Minister in Charge³⁶². This belief in an undermining of democracy was initiated in March 2010 when the National (neo-liberal) Government sacked the elected councillors of Environment Canterbury (the Regional Council) and replaced them with appointed commissioners, citing dysfunction, with uncertainty over the control of water³⁶³. In June 2010 thousands of people, protesting over what they viewed as a loss of democracy, flocked into Cathedral Square and built there a large cairn of stones³⁶⁴. Bishop Matthews said a prayer of blessing and sprinkled the cairn with water. Five years later this monument remained, as did the appointed commissioners. Thus I note the civil unrest, the civic position of the bishop and the use of a material object and sanctifying ritual in this situation, three months prior to the earthquake.

As stated above, pre-earthquake there was also public dissatisfaction over CCC leadership³⁶⁵. This disquiet later erupted into its own social drama, resulting in both the CEO and mayor losing their positions. I show the alleged dysfunction within the CCC below.

Later, the Earthquake Commission, (EQC) charged with paying out compensation for earthquake damage claims under \$100,000, appeared to be overwhelmed, subject to rumours of insolvency and often blamed for delays in assessing and repairing earthquake damage. Stories emerged of disagreements between EQC, clients and various insurance companies³⁶⁶. Five years on there were still disputes before the courts, with people not knowing the fate of their damaged homes or else challenging companies for shoddy repair work. This in turn has resulted in large public protests and many court cases.

³⁶² J. Hartevelt, 'Democracy side-lined under CERA', *The Press*, 02 April 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/4839892/Democracy-sidelined-under-Cera>, (accessed 25 March 2013).

³⁶³ P. Gorman and T. Watkins, 'E-Can councillors sacked', *The Press*, 30 March 2010, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/3526047/ECan-councillors-sacked>, (accessed 22 July 2015).

³⁶⁴ D. Williams, 'Large Rally protests over water', *The Press*, 14 June 2010, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/3807304/Large-rally-protests-over-water>, (accessed 22 July 2015).
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0V9-NzFGEDY>

³⁶⁵ S. Sachdeva, 'Political compromise gave Marryatt the margin he needed', *The Press*, 10 September 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/5597835/Political-compromise-gave-Marryatt-margin-he-needed>, (accessed 25 March 2015).

³⁶⁶ B. Heather, 'Apartment owners blame EQ for delays', *The Press*, 01 September 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/5544156/Apartment-owners-blame-EQC-for-delays>, (accessed 25 March 2016).

Addressing a forum in May 2011, the Government's chief science advisor, Sir Peter Gluckman, warned that the November 2011 general election could emotionally overload frustrated and weary Cantabrians³⁶⁷. This was the climate of the city, the social 'field' from which the Cathedral controversy slowly bubbled, then erupted.

WHAT TO DO WITH THE CATHEDRAL?

The first strains in the relationship between the Church and the CCC were discernible in October 2011. The Church legally owned the Cathedral but many in the city believed that emotionally and morally they had collective ownership, a major factor in the ensuing controversy. The CCC obviously felt they were responsible for upholding and articulating this belief.

There were several contributors to these tensions, centred as they were on what to do with the Cathedral. In mid-August 2011, CERA's engineers reviewed reports from the Church's engineers which assessed the earthquake damage to the Cathedral and did their own on-site examination. Although the area was 'red stickered', (closed to the public) there were more than 1800 traffic movements a day past the Cathedral, as the inner city was being cleared. Fears were being expressed for the safety of workers who were demolishing nearby buildings and noticing the Cathedral wobbling everytime there was an aftershock.

CATHEDRAL DECLARED DANGEROUS

CERA documents³⁶⁸ reveal that on 12 September 2011 the CERA engineers sent an internal memo, to Isaacs, the General Operations Manager, that recommended he issue a demolition notice to the CPT, because the Cathedral was a 'dangerous building. We... conclude that it would not be possible to strengthen the building temporarily or otherwise in a safe manner without the risk of collapse of part or all of the building' ³⁶⁹.

Here we begin to see the role of engineering 'experts' in assisting decision-making, in this case advising demolition. Isaacs did not sign off the memo at this time, as he did not agree with the recommended demolition without further information and required consultation with various stakeholders. It must be remembered that at this time there was already public

³⁶⁷ P. Gorman, 'Fear election year will overwhelm Cantabrians', *The Press*, 11 May 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/4987171/Fear-election-year-will-overload-Cantabrians>, (accessed 26 March 2015).

³⁶⁸ CERA File 1

³⁶⁹ CERA File 2, p. 16.

criticism of the demolition of some heritage buildings. Thus, though the CPT were the owners, other entities such as local and national government and heritage advocates were considered to be stakeholders. The issue even then was political. Media reports and the later released CERA documents reveal a flurry of activity between the various parties such as CERA, CCC, CPT, and each group's engineers, with rumours, leaks and various conflicting statements. At the same time, CERA required the Church's engineers to immediately decide on the Cathedral's fall lines in the case of a future big earthquake. They were then to put in place protective water-filled shipping containers, which they did, although there was some debate about who was responsible for what.

COLLABORATIVE WORKING PARTY SET UP BY CERA

In late September 2011, a *Christ Church Cathedral Collaborative Working Party* (CWP) was set up by CERA to assist the building's owners, the CPT, to form a decision about how to make the Cathedral safe, under CERA regulations. Interestingly, the language was now 'making safe', not demolition. Previously engineers said it could only be made safe by bringing it down. The CERA files reveal a sense of urgency as aftershocks continued. Membership of the CWP included personnel from CPT, CERA, CCC (Planning and heritage), Historic Places Trust (HPT), Holmes Consulting Group (engineers for CPT), Warren and Mahoney (heritage architects), and the Church's professional project manager, Marcus Read. The question of the lack of heritage engineering expertise amongst the CERA engineers was raised. Throughout the ensuing controversy, until Government sponsored mediation in 2015, there was disagreement between various engineering groups about what could or should be achieved.

To assist the CWP, the Church's engineers prepared six make-safe plans for discussion and decision making by the Standing Committee, the Cathedral Chapter and the CPT, all chaired by Matthews. CERA initially rejected the make-safe plan decided on, thus requiring more negotiation.

I was told that amongst these Church bodies there was a seeming lack of recognition of the significance of the Cathedral to the people of Christchurch and that they were warned of the probable public acrimony if there was a decision to proceed with demolition. Others questioned the influence of the bishop in this decision-making, because even four months earlier she was talking about building a new cathedral. In a video clip of an early post-earthquake interview, she said that whilst she knew people loved the Cathedral, she had a genuine amazement at the depth of feeling and sense of identity she discovered. In that

interview she talks about wanting the new cathedral to be the icon of the city but was not sure where it would be built³⁷⁰. Thus, very early on the possibility of a new cathedral was being discussed.

ENGINEERING DISPUTES

Meanwhile, the CCC engaged its own experts, international heritage engineers, Miyamoto, who produced an alternative plan for maximum retention of the building, their engineer spokesperson being somewhat dismissive of the heritage assessments CPT had received. This uncosted plan, which produced considerable media coverage, was rejected by CERA and the Church. It is interesting to note that the City Council had been drawn into the debate and was willing to finance this engineering investigation. I suggest that they were, even then, being lobbied by people who were used to having influence in the city. The differing opinions of engineers later became a feature of the controversy and questionably the deciding factor in decision making about the Cathedral.

PUBLIC RELATIONS AGREEMENTS

Just before the February earthquake the Church's media protocol had been adopted, requiring all media statements to be authorised by the bishop. Post-earthquake, at the Chapter's insistence so I was told, the Church hired a Public Relations firm, which was later dispensed with, because there was disagreement about how effective they were. They were blamed for some of the subsequent furore. Anglican priest Jayson Rhodes, from Auckland, was appointed in 2012 and remained as the media spokesperson for the Diocese. This move was commented on by one participant:

I do think the Church's public relations have been appalling and parachuting in a young, jumped up PR person from Auckland, who has quite a combative approach and is really good at rubbing people up the wrong way I don't think has helped³⁷¹.

The Church's on-going poor post-earthquake public relations record was commented on by a number of my participants and seen as contributing to the controversy. I have noted that there has been extremely little public acknowledgement by the Church of the depth of feeling and

³⁷⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QO7tQ7hTAWk>, (accessed 10 March 2016).

³⁷¹ Anonymous Participant, interviewed by PA., 01 April 2014.

attachment that many Christchurch people had for the Cathedral, a major underlying factor in the row.

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENTS BROKEN

There was an agreement by CWP members that all media enquiries or releases would go through a central person. This was because of the wide public interest in the fate of the Cathedral and fear of a public backlash. I don't know whether this 'central person' was Matthews or the PR consultant. Even at this stage there was obvious 'back-stage' management going on.

Then, within the CWP, there was disagreement over a letter produced by the CCC participants, stating that they believed that decisions were being made too hastily. They had also noted the lack of heritage expertise amongst the CERA engineers. The Church's project manager wanted this letter removed from the table, because he feared it would be subject to revelation under the Official Information Act. He threatened that the bishop would need to consult with the CEO of CCC. I am not sure why this caused so much concern but suggest it was because of the fear of public reactions at the time. It seems that the CCC representatives were then absent from further meetings of this group and some media reports suggested that they were banned by the Church but Matthews denied this.

CCC representatives on the CWP were also censured when they 'went public' in the media, prior to an official announcement by Matthews and Brownlee of the agreed 'make-safe' plan. An e-mail, presumably from the Church's project manager reads:

Frankly we are surprised and most disappointed that despite all formal agreements and collaborative efforts and formal reiterations around confidentiality and working together, as recently as our meeting held on Wednesday, CCC's consulting engineers have purposefully made the page 3 of today's Press³⁷²...We will respond more formally about this matter to CCC next week, and may now need to consider addressing the above as part of today's formal announcement³⁷³.

This departure from an agreed process was widely reported and I suggest was a 'breach of regular norm-governed social relations made publicly visible by the infraction of a rule ordinarily held to be binding'³⁷⁴. This in itself did not produce the full-blown breach but it

³⁷² C. Gates, 'Fate of Christ Church cathedral on table', *The Press*, 28 October 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/rebuilding-christchurch/5866539/Fate-of-Christ-Church-cathedral-on-table>, (accessed 14 May 2015).

³⁷³ CERA Documents, p. 354ff.

³⁷⁴ Turner, 1986, p. 34.

did indicate that all was not well in the Church-CCC relationship and that a rule had been broken in the way that Turner suggests. Apparently there was no further communication between the Church and the CCC from October 2011 until March 2012.

CHURCH CHALLENGED TO BE MORE TRANSPARENT

Whilst negotiations on the CWP were progressing, the Church was accused of acting secretly, thus raising speculation about its motives. People felt excluded from the debate. Presumably because of an in-house ‘tipoff’, this accusation was first raised by Brendon Burns, MP for Central Christchurch. He requested from CERA the release of information under the Official Information Act 1982, publicly stating:

Given that demolition may be under consideration, I think it is time to inform the people of Canterbury of the true picture and update them as it develops. There is no more important icon of our city. The concept of a Christchurch without a cathedral is too ghastly to contemplate. As well as hoping and praying this does not come to pass, we as citizens have the right to ask about the future of our city’s most important building³⁷⁵.

This could be considered an election campaign move but because I know of some of Burn’s allegiances I consider it more than that. He was, I believe articulating what others were thinking and saying. However, Burns was fighting for his political life in the impending 2011 national election, a fight he very narrowly lost in a recount of votes to Nicky Wagner, who later was appointed Associate Minister for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery and who maintained an active interest in the future of the Cathedral.

There was, therefore, evidence of fraying relationships between the Church and the City Council, between CCC and CERA, between CERA and HPT and between engineers. Relationships with the print media were also becoming strained.

CONTROLLED DEMOLITION TO ‘MAKE SAFE’ ANNOUNCED

On 28 October 2011, in conjunction with Brownlee, Matthews released to the media the announcement that the CPT had decided on some controlled demolition of the Cathedral to make it safe, to allow the retrieval of important heritage items and to allow time for further decisions to be made on the building’s fate. Matthews, in hard hat and high vis jacket, had previously appeared in TV footage of the Cathedral site; a public relations mistake according

³⁷⁵ B. Burns, *Christchurch Star*, 26 October 2011, cited in *Cera File 4*, p. 16.

to one conversation I shared later, because it made it look as if she were an engineer and therefore personally responsible for the decision.

A press conference was called in the Christchurch Botanical Gardens, chosen, according to Matthews, because it was a place of beauty and to remind people that, in spite of all the losses, Christchurch still had much of beauty left. In my mind this was a deliberately clever move, a highly political presentation, linking as it did the Church announcement with the ‘Garden City’ motif and seeking to downplay the ambiguity of what was being announced.



Figure 13: Bishop Matthews Announces Cathedral’s Partial Demolition. Photo-Daniel Tobin³⁷⁶

This announcement took on a ritual format. It was not ritual by Turner’s definition in that no divine authority was called on or assumed. However, the centrality of Matthews in her purple shirt, clerical collar and cross, could imply a religious aspect. Rather, I lean to Moore and Myerhoff’s definition of a collective ceremony, which is ‘a dramatic occasion, a complex type of symbolic behaviour that usually has a statable purpose, but one that invariably alludes to more than it says, and has many meanings at once’³⁷⁷. Whilst there had been a statement sent to the media, this ceremony, ostensibly with the further purpose of giving out information, nevertheless alluded to other issues such as uncertainty about the building’s future, a response to the criticism of Church secrecy. Matthews stated that the much-loved

³⁷⁶ <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/5866482/Partial-Christ-Church-Cathedral-demolition>, accessed 24 April 2014.

³⁷⁷ S. Moore and B. Myerhoff, *Secular Ritual*, Assen, The Netherlands, Van Gorcum, 1977, p. 5.

cathedral would never look "exactly as it used to" and whether it would be rebuilt on its current site was not yet known. Certainly there were many dramaturgical elements in this 'ceremony' which, in Goffman's terms, was very much 'front-stage', whilst I have demonstrated that there was a lot of 'back-stage' activity going on as well ³⁷⁸.

On this occasion Bishop Matthews, flanked by Hon. Gerry Brownlee and Dean Peter Beck, was proclaiming a transition for the Cathedral from the old to the new, with the new being a mixture of both, on an uncertain site. She also announced that she would need to 'deconsecrate' the building, that is, return it to secular use, acknowledging to reporters that they would be unused to the concept. Then Beck eulogised. 'We will build for the city and the Diocese the most amazing building—the most stunning building that respects our heritage and builds to the future' ³⁷⁹.

In retrospect, it seems strange that Beck's clear statement, that there would be a new cathedral built, did not create the public furore that a later announcement in March 2012 produced. I would conjecture that this was because of Beck's personal style, the high regard in which he was held and his clarity that a new building would be for 'the city' as well as the Diocese. In fact, there was very little public comment or criticism of this 'make-safe' decision, although former mayor Moore said that more people should be involved in the decision-making. In a *Press* release, HPT said they welcomed the announcement that the Cathedral was to be made safe, whilst it was also reported that

Council heritage experts felt the announcement was not clear. Internal council emails describe the announcement as "a very woolly and vague pronouncement from the Church" and complain of a "complete lack of co-operation on the part of CERA" over the building ³⁸⁰.

I would agree that there was considerable ambiguity in this presentation and this comment reveals some of the internal tensions at that time.

CERA structural engineers had continued to regularly inspect the building and two days before the above media conference, they notified Isaacs of further damage since their September report. They recommended that Isaacs 'determine that the Christchurch Anglican

³⁷⁸ E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971.

³⁷⁹ C. Gates, 'Partial Christ Church Cathedral demolition', *The Press*, 28 October 2011. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/5868850/Partial-Christ-Church-Cathedral-demolition>, (accessed 16 July 2015).

³⁸⁰ C. Gates, 'Cathedral verdict ignored dissent', *The Press*, 05 May, 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6865019/Cathedral-verdict-ignored-dissent>, (accessed 16 October 2014).

Cathedral be deemed a dangerous building for the purpose of issuing a letter to the building owner under Section 38 of the C.E.R. Act and that the building be demolished'³⁸¹. Isaacs agreed.

On the day of the above media conference, CERA issued the CPT the Section 38 order requiring the Cathedral to be brought down but the public was not told until 2 November. At her public announcement, Matthews spoke of 'some partial, controlled demolition'. I suggest that the announcement was deliberately kept 'woolly and vague'. This Section 38 order required the Church to advise, within 10 calendar days, whether they wished CERA to demolish the Cathedral or wanted to do it themselves. If the latter, CPT needed to present their plan of work for CERA approval. This order was explained under three schedules:

- Schedule (1) Summary of the meaning of 'dangerous building' (Building Act 2004 as amended by Canterbury Earthquake (Building Act) Order 2011), with the note that according to the CER Act, the Crown would not be liable for compensation.
- Schedule (2) Demolition application. Supporting information required: Project information, On-site start up; Methodology; Programme; Debris waste management plan; Traffic Management; Health and Safety Management: Heritage/HPT; Completion; Insurance.
- Schedule (3) CERA Professional Services...resources available and noting close relationship with CCC.

A meeting between CERA and CPT followed three days later to clarify various issues. Isaacs then sent the CPT a letter describing what was required, agreeing to interim work to retrieve artefacts. This presumably was to happen before the required demolition. CPT was required:

*to include the methods you propose to use to remove all the hazards, the time-line over which the work is to be carried out and a full description of the state the building will be left in once the works are completed*³⁸².

Church engineers were required to produce a detailed make-safe plan, which was signed off by the CPT on 15 December and was to be reviewed by CERA and HPT engineers early in the New Year. This 'final' plan stated that Phase One would be completed by 28 February 2012 and Phase Two, the safe removal of artefacts, would be finished by the end of April 2012. Presumably Phase Three was going to be the total demolition. This attempt is

³⁸¹ Cera File, Part 1, p. 79.

³⁸² Correspondence CERA to CPT 2 Nov 2011, Cera Cathedral File 1 <http://cera.govt.nz/the-cathedral-file> , (accessed 6 November 2011).

consistent with Blumer's outline of a five-stage process in dealing with a social problem as outlined in Chapter Two³⁸³.

My impression, gained from the CERA files, media reports and analysis of dates, is that there was a lot of careful 'stage management' going on behind the scenes, such as the timing, staging and wording of announcements and events. For instance, two days after the deconstruction announcement, National TV featured Isaacs doing a thirty-minute tour of the city, to show the extent of devastation to the inner city, including the Cathedral³⁸⁴. In 2015, when resigning from his CERA position, Isaacs said deciding the fate of heritage buildings was the hardest part of his job, but he had no regrets about any of the calls he had made³⁸⁵.

On the same day as Isaac's TV appearance, in response to Burn's request under the Official Information Act, CERA released their files on the Cathedral with the comment:

*Given the ongoing debate about decisions the Anglican Church has made to partially demolish and make safe the Cathedral, CERA chief executive Roger Sutton has decided to release all of the related documents held by CERA...Privacy constraints means some names and email addresses have been removed from the documents...The Anglican Church has been kept fully informed of this decision and CERA continues to work closely with the Church and the Christchurch City Council*³⁸⁶.

Again I note the incongruity between the stated Church decision to 'partially demolish and make safe' and the CERA requirement that the Cathedral be demolished. The Church refused to release its own Cathedral files with all the engineering reports, recommendations and minutes of its decision making bodies. These, I contend, were carefully orchestrated political stances.

That same week there was a protest gathering of 200 people lamenting the loss of Christchurch's heritage buildings and criticising CERA's policies on heritage buildings policies. Speeches were made by Burns and Green Party candidate Eugenie Sage. The group

³⁸³ H. Blumer, 'Social problems as Collective Behaviour', *Social Problems*, 1971, vol.18, no.3, pp. 298-306. Available in JSTORE, (accessed 27 June 2016).

³⁸⁴ YouTube, 'CBD red zone with Warwick Isaacs, General Manager Demolitions'. 4 November 2011. <http://fourpawsandwhiskers.blogspot.co.nz/2011/11/cbd-red-zone-with-warwick-isaacs.html>, accessed 03.04.15

³⁸⁵ L. Cairns, 'Rebuild chief Warren Isaacs quits for Stonewood Homes role', *The Press*, 10 February 2015. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/business/the-rebuild/65992629/Rebuild-chief-Warwick-Isaacs-quits-for-Stonewood-Homes-role>, (accessed 15 May 2015).

³⁸⁶ R. Sutton, Cathedral File, p. 1.

marched to CERA headquarters and presented a petition to staff. Christchurch Civic Trust chairman Neil Roberts said:

*the heritage demolition meant Christchurch was gradually losing its memory and identity. Now, with the shadow of demolition on the cathedral we are not only losing our memory, we have the potential for the loss of our identity. The cathedral is this city. It is the foundation symbol of this city*³⁸⁷.

This statement, along with the reported arguments between engineers, is in keeping with Smith's argument that 'The power relations underlying the (authorised heritage) discourse identify those people who have the ability or authority to 'speak' about or 'for' heritage...and those who do not' ³⁸⁸. In this case politicians and heritage campaigners were claiming to speak for the city and its heritage and, it could be seen in retrospect, were grouping to take an adversarial position against the Church who, one might have imagined, would be concerned about their part of the city's heritage.

THE CATHEDRAL IS DECONSECRATED

A week after the 130th anniversary of the consecration of the building, on 9 November 2011, around 300 invited members of the Cathedral community were escorted by bus into the 'red' (restricted) zone for the ritual of de-consecration³⁸⁹. Brownlee stood 'off to one side and darkly attired like a respectful funeral director'³⁹⁰, according to journalist Brian Thomas (formerly an associate Dean of the Cathedral). Thomas thus constructed this event as a mourning ritual. Neither Mayor Parker nor anyone from the City Council attended because, the public were told, they were too busy. It was later noted that Parker, in his lunch hour that day, had attended the race-course to watch his wife's horse run. This absence appeared to be a deliberate snub or perhaps they were not invited. Either way, I suggest this was a further indication of the strained relationship between the City Council and the Church.

³⁸⁷ C. Gates, 'Protesters object to heritage loss', *The Press*, 08 November 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/5923531/Protesters-object-to-heritage-loss>, (accessed 12 April 2013).

³⁸⁸ Smith, 2006, p. 12.

³⁸⁹ My husband, a worshipping member of the congregation was not invited, which upset me at the time, especially when I saw others from 'the Establishment', CERA and the media there. Probably this was an administrative omission but my reaction was an indication of the emotions of the time.

³⁹⁰ B. Thomas, 'Chch Cathedral becomes ordinary', *Anglican Taonga*, 09 November 2011, <http://www.anglicantaonga.org.nz/News/Tikanga-Pakeha/130-years-on-Chch-Cathedral-ceases>, (accessed 12 July 2016).

The robed Cathedral choir was present and both Matthews and Beck wore liturgical clothing, so it was presented as undeniably a religious affair. Later, church members questioned the lack of any symbolic ritual action, such as the use of water. In fact the ceremony seemed quite symbolically sterile, though emotional. The words that Bishop Matthews used in this act of de-consecration were:

*I do remit this building, and all objects remaining in it, for any lawful and reputable use, according to the laws of this land. This building, having now been deconsecrated and secularized, I declare to be no longer subject to my canonical jurisdiction*³⁹¹

She thus relinquished any canonical responsibility for the building. People questioned later what this actually meant and whether in fact she had relinquished jurisdiction over the future of the building. I would argue that there was confusion about what actually this ceremony or ritual was meant to do and whether it also included the land, because later the site itself was declared by Matthews to be sacred. For those present at the deconsecration, it was an unstated farewell to their Cathedral, with attendant grief and reminiscence. I liken it to the private pre-funeral ceremony for the deceased's family that I have conducted in past times at a home or funeral premises. Such occasions allowed for a more private sharing of grief by those most affected by a particular loss. It did seem then as if the Cathedral was to go.

³⁹¹ Video, <http://www.anglicantaonga.org.nz/News/TIKANGA-PAKEHA/130-years-on-Chch-Cathedral-ceases>, accessed 28.01.13.



Figure 14: Cathedral Choir at Cathedral de-consecration. Photo-Lloyd Ashton³⁹²

Anglican priest Bosco Peters noted in his blog³⁹³ that the NZ Anglican Church has no recognised liturgies for such an occasion as the deconsecration of a church. It seems that neither does the Roman Catholic Church. (The damaged Basilica has not been ‘deconsecrated’). However in 2003 the Episcopal Church of USA published a ritual for such an occasion and Matthews used words from this. One person in the blog’s on-line discussion questioned whether this ‘deconsecration’ actually affected people’s attitudes to the sacredness of the taonga, the ‘objects’ that remained in it. In a later conversation, a colleague questioned the right of a bishop to appropriate artefacts in this way, because as Weiner claims, such gifts cannot be revoked.³⁹⁴

The absence of formal Maori participation in this ritual was also noted in the media. Bishop John Gray was actually standing at one side. When I later asked him about that, he said that he had been invited but had initially thought he would be unable to attend, which may or may not be the whole story. Canon David Morrell publically stated that he would not be attending the deconsecration and argued strongly:

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ B. Peters, liturgy blog, ‘de-consecration’, 10 November 2011, <http://liturgy.co.nz/deconsecration>, accessed 28 February 2013).

³⁹⁴ A. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping while Giving*, Berkley, CA, University of California Press, 1992.

*Please leave it in its consecrated state...We await with eager expectation [the Cathedral's] resurrection and ours as a city, province and community...if the Cathedral is deconsecrated, a signal will be sent to the community that the Church is stepping aside from the building*³⁹⁵.

As often in this controversy, the fate of the Cathedral is linked with the fate of the community, in a highly symbolic fashion, whilst using the metaphor of resurrection. Morrell's stance is evidence of divided opinion within the Anglican constituency. His belief, that this ritual would be seen as the Church abandoning the Cathedral, was correct.

Ortner proposes the symbolic nature of key scenarios in which 'attitudes and relationships' are restructured, 'as a result of enacting particular culturally provided sequences of stylized actions'³⁹⁶. This ritual of deconsecration symbolically transferred the Cathedral from the sacred to the secular. It was an action that altered the Church's relationship with the building, and was interpreted in the public arena as 'the Church walking away from it.' Thus this enacted, almost unprecedented ritual, had effects such as widening the gap between Church and 'city', a result which did not seem to be appreciated or anticipated by its actors.

THE CATHEDRAL FAREWELLED

In another carefully orchestrated move, on 24 November 2011, Roger Sutton, CERA's CEO, announced the temporary opening of a walkway into the Square that would allow 300 people per hour to finally 'reconnect with their city'. This happened on four weekends with one proposed also for Christmas Eve, when – traditionally - many people gathered in the Square or attended midnight Mass in the Cathedral. Sutton's rationale was 'We know that the Cathedral is a significant landmark for most Cantabrians'³⁹⁷.

On the first weekend of this open and controlled walkway, over 20,000 people visited the Square, with thousands more attending on the next three weekends. If the Church's relatively small deconsecration event was the pre-funeral, then this event was the funeral and was expressed as such:

³⁹⁵ D. Morrell, 'Letter to the Editor, *The Press*, 05 November, 2011, p. 8.

³⁹⁶ Ortner, 1973, p. 1345.

³⁹⁷ Stuff website, 'Cathedral Square to reopen to public', *The Press*, 26 November 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/6026972/Cathedral-Square-set-to-reopen-to-public>, (accessed 25 July 2015).

The Wizard, a fixture in the Square for 35 years, performed a spell to evoke good spirits and drive out the "evil feelings that lurk in this once-beautiful Square." Saturday's visit, his first since February, was like "a funeral", he said³⁹⁸.

Mayor Bob Parker explained it as:

What people have asked for, for a long time, is an opportunity to walk at their own pace and digest what has happened. I think it is a very important thing for some people. For some it's an emotional journey and for others it's a curiosity thing. It will be very emotional for some people ... but I think it is important for us to have access back to the heart of our city. I think there's a nice symbolism in this and that's what I like about it³⁹⁹.

Again, I note the use of biological language - the Square as the heart, whereas previously it was the Cathedral as 'the broken heart of the city'. In retrospect, I wonder whether it was also a political gesture to reinforce the belief at the time that the Cathedral needed to be demolished but the heart remained. People of all ages walked solemnly and talked quietly, looked shocked and bewildered and sometimes wept. As the Wizard said, it felt like the funeral.

THE DEAN RESIGNS

Less than a month after the deconsecration when, as one commenter wrote, 'he and the bishop were singing from the same page'⁴⁰⁰, Peter Beck announced his resignation as Dean and his intention to stand in a by-election for a CCC seat; a position he subsequently won. He remained silent on the cause of his resignation, so rumour was rife. He had been the Dean of Christchurch since 2002, and often proclaimed it to be the best job in the Church⁴⁰¹. As already noted, a number of people that I interviewed were of the informed opinion that even before the first earthquake, all was not well between him and Matthews. My interviews with them both would indicate somewhat different, even conflicting views, on the role of the Dean and Cathedral in the city and the mission of the Church.

³⁹⁸ M. Greenhill, 'Thousands venture into Cathedral Square', *The Press*, 28 November 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6045264/Thousands-venture-into-Cathedral-Square>, (accessed 25 July 2015).

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ T. Wall, 'Division over Christchurch's Cathedral', *The Press*, 11 December 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/6121026/Division-over-Christchurchs-cathedral>, (accessed 23 February 2013).

⁴⁰¹ CTV Archive, 'Cathedral Charisma'-up close and personal with Dean Peter Beck', 06 September 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mXISEdIPxgs>, accessed 20.07.15

A NEW PLAN REQUIRED

After the 23 December 2011 earthquake and the continuing aftershocks, which caused more damage and the cancellation of the Christmas Eve walkway into the Square, CERA informed CPT that their 'make-safe' plans for the Cathedral were no longer adequate. They required a new plan for the future of the Cathedral. The CERA papers reveal their new requirements. On 14 February 2012, Holmes, the Church's engineers, submitted details of their new make-safe plan, which involved, initially, salvage of the stained glass windows, demolition of the tower and deconstruction of the building to windowsill level. This plan, once approved by CERA, then had to go to CPT for ratification as the agreed way ahead. As I write this, I notice the juxtaposition of events and dates and now think that the closeness to the first anniversary of the 22 February earthquakes meant that the conveying of this decision needed very careful management, or, in Goffman's terminology, more 'back-room' negotiating. Matthews said CPT gave final approval of the plan on 1 March, but one would wonder why they waited until then, if it were not that the next announcement needed to be very carefully staged.

Journalist Christopher Moore, the week before this first year anniversary of the 22 February earthquake, suggested that the Church had moved into full public relations salvage mode, in the light of all the criticism of secrecy and lack of decision-making. As well as a large *Press* advertisement explaining to the public where the Church had reached in its decision making, there was an interview with Matthews and project manager Read on national television where Read said 'She's actually done pretty well as a building. The engineer says she continues to rock back and forth with every event and she's slowly rocking herself to pieces'⁴⁰². In reporting this, along with some people's calls for more decisive leadership, appealing to the Archbishop to intervene, (which, as I have noted, would contradict church polity), Moore also wrote:

It's obvious that Christchurch's ruined Anglican Cathedral is much more than bare stones, wood and history. This is now an old familiar friend lying in a deep coma beyond reach or recall...There are those who want to turn the life support off to end its life and move forward, and those who insist that the Cathedral can - and will - make a full recovery. Like all debates about life and death, it's a matter which has caused fierce, at times partisan, debate. It's as if all the city's anger, confusion and

⁴⁰² C. Gates, 'Cathedral slowly 'rocking to pieces'', *The Press*, 15 February 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6418872/Cathedral-slowly-rocking-to-pieces>, accessed 25 July 2015.

*shock is being channelled through the battered arches of this once proud ecclesiastical and civic symbol*⁴⁰³

These examples of the anthropomorphising of the Cathedral, that is as suicide candidate and a terminally ill friend, are not the only incidents I noticed. In the CERA papers, minutes of the CWP meeting stated:

(Name blanked out) *likened the cathedral to a child that the Diocese and Chapter would care for, wanting the best outcome possible, while keeping the safety of people as the highest priority*⁴⁰⁴.

Latour⁴⁰⁵ insists that ‘*anthropos* and *morphos* together mean either that which has human shape or that which gives *shape* to humans.’ I suggest that in this case, the use of this kind of language influences human relationships with the Cathedral. As Gell has said:

*Since the onset of the discipline, anthropology has been signally preoccupied with a series of problems to do with the ostensibly peculiar relations between persons and ‘things’ which somehow ‘appear as’ or do duty as, persons*⁴⁰⁶.

In his article above, Moore raised issues of the bishop’s gender, nationality and personality:

*To any outsider, this could be the case of an outsider, a foreigner (Matthews is Canadian) and a woman to boot, under fire from the formidable forces of the Canterbury Establishment. But her critics argue they have attempted to establish a dialogue with Matthews but have been frequently rebuffed by an inflexible and dogmatic personality*⁴⁰⁷.

In my interviews I often heard these same sentiments expressed. A number, including some of the Church personnel I spoke with, viewed the controversy as a power struggle between the Establishment and Matthews, when in fact before her time the Anglican Church was considered by many to be an integral part of the Establishment. For some, this change of social status, which Turner has warned almost always occurs in a social drama, was expressed to me as being tragic. Katie Pickles expressed fascination over this shift in positioning when writing about the Church’s decision concerning the Cathedral, a year after her previous comments:

⁴⁰³ C. Moore, ‘What’s next for Christ Church Cathedral?’, *The Press*, 17 February 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/12-51/reflection/6416581/Whats-next-for-Christ-Church-Cathedral>, (assessed 12 April 2015)

⁴⁰⁴ Cera File, p. 460.

⁴⁰⁵ Latour, 2009, p. 237.

⁴⁰⁶ Gell, 1998, p. 9.

⁴⁰⁷ Moore, *Ibid*.

Meanwhile, in a fascinating twist, a pragmatic voice has come from the legal owner, the Anglican Church. Downplaying the spiritual, the church is mindful of the complex and pressing needs of its community, aware of a dwindling congregation, and resigned to the city having changed forever. The unexpected result is that the Wizard of New Zealand, and not the Anglican Bishop of Christchurch, is heading a campaign to save the cathedral⁴⁰⁸.

Perhaps this change could reflect a move toward Pickles's earlier suggestion that the earthquakes provided the chance for the city to move beyond its colonial past. This comment also expresses sympathy for the bishop's position. Others have told me that they consider Matthew's actions courageous and her theological view admirable, with its commendable concern for those still in poor housing and straightened circumstances. Another example of this ideology was when, following the September 2010 earthquake, she challenged local Anglicans to donate \$100,000 to Haiti, which was so much worse off following their earthquakes and where she had previously worked⁴⁰⁹. \$135,828 was donated and sent to Haiti.

As planning for the first year anniversary of the February earthquake progressed, with the Bishop and Dean being fully involved, it is now obvious that discussions were also going on and decisions being made about the future of the Cathedral. From CERA in October 2011 requiring the Cathedral to be demolished, to an announcement by the Church on 28 October of a new Cathedral, to further earthquake damage in December, to what now appeared to be a new strategy for keeping public opinion manageable, there would appear to be considerable political manoeuvring going on behind the scenes.

CONCLUSION

The earthquakes and their aftermath presented the people of Christchurch with many challenging and unprecedented situations. The scene kept changing with the over 12,000 continuing aftershocks, which presented confusingly different data to decision makers. Evidence was mounting of tensions within and between some of what became the major institutions involved in the Cathedral controversy: namely the Church, local and national government organisations, protesting groups and experts such as engineers. The next chapter details, in Turnerian terms, the social drama that I name the Cathedral Controversy.

⁴⁰⁸ K. Pickles, 'Thinking outside the Square', *The Press*, 23 March 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/perspective/6623958/Thinking-outside-the-Square>, (accessed 16 May 2014).

⁴⁰⁹ <http://www.anglicantaonga.org.nz/News/Tikanga-Pakeha/Bishop-seeks>
<http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/afternoons/audio/2415623/anglican-appeal>, (accessed 20 May 2015).

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CATHEDRAL CONTROVERSY – A CASE STUDY OF A SOCIAL DRAMA

INTRODUCTION

I now detail the events of the wide ranging dispute that developed over the future of Christ Church Cathedral, using Turner's social drama processual model⁴¹⁰ of breach, crisis, redressive action and schism or restitution (of relationships) to show what happened and the social forces uncovered as the drama progressed. This model however cannot explain what I consider are the underlying reasons for the drama. These are explained in my conclusions.

This chapter describes what I consider was the breach that occurred between the Church and the general public of Christchurch. This was initiated by the bishop's announcement on 02 March 2012 that the Cathedral would be deconstructed but was widened with her subsequent media interview. The crisis which followed, and the instruments used to contain or inflame it are then described, followed by an analysis of the subsequent redressive actions employed to deal with the situation in seeking a solution. After five years, the fourth stage of resolution or schism had not been reached. I will argue, as Turner suggests occurs in a social drama⁴¹¹, this controversy is changing the social positioning of the Anglican Church, within what was once the colonial city of Christchurch. Alongside this are all the other changes, physical and societal, which are occurring in the post-earthquake city.

Distilling Dilthey's thinking, Turner argues that in each social drama there is the three-fold aspect of cognition, affect and volition - thought, feeling and will⁴¹². At each point of the drama, one or other of these modalities appeared in the foreground. For example, in the crisis period, feelings ran high and in fact one explanation for the drama was that the crumbling Cathedral became the focus of people's grief, the bishop the lightning rod of their anger⁴¹³. A further emotional episode occurred with the bishop's comments on the second anniversary. The question at the end of five years is, 'where is the will, or indeed the mechanisms, to resolve the impasse?'

⁴¹⁰ Turner, 1974.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., p. 37-42.

⁴¹² V. Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The human seriousness of play*, New York City, Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982.

⁴¹³ P. Matthews, 'The Anglican iron lady', *The Press*, 07 April, 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/8517544/The-Anglican-iron-lady>, (accessed 10 March 2014).

Although, as I have suggested, there were precursors to the breach in social relations, what I consider to be the defining breach occurred in two events; a deconstruction announcement and a week later a media interview. Bishop Matthews's announcement of the Church's decision to partially 'deconstruct' the Cathedral, bringing the walls down to windowsill height, or further if need be began the split. She said that this decision was made taking cognisance of engineering and financial advice and with the utmost concern for safety. It would allow, within the first two months, the retrieval of *taonga* such as the stained glass windows. The rest would be deconstructed, taking up to one year at a cost of \$4m.

Given the events outlined in Chapter Four - the November 2011 announcement that a new Cathedral would be built, incorporating the old and the new, the previous CERA requirements for demolition and the public farewells to the Cathedral - I now wonder why this second announcement was deemed necessary. It appeared to pull back on the earlier announcement. I suspect that there had been back-room indications of a build-up of opposition, as shown in the CCC disagreement with the haste of the decisions being made. As previously noted, journalist Moore commented on the xenophobia and misogyny apparent at the time. However, I am drawn to Turner's observation that a 'breach may be deliberately, even calculatedly, contrived by a person or party disposed to demonstrate or challenge entrenched authority – or it may emerge from a scene of heated feelings'⁴¹⁴. Certainly there were heated feelings but I am also suggesting that the Church's decision was a direct challenge to forces that were accustomed to being influential in the running the city and whose opinions had apparently been ignored. At issue was the constructed meanings of the building.

This announcement was another carefully staged media conference in the Botanical Gardens⁴¹⁵. In Chapter Four I alluded to the backstage preparation for the timing of this new performance. There were discernible differences to the previous announcement. This time Matthews was flanked by four stern men, who looked like uncomfortable bodyguards. They were members of the CPT or the CWP, with the project manager, Marcus Read. Gerry Brownlee was not present and given the tensions between the CERA requirement for demolition and the ambiguity of the announcement this is not surprising. Beck, who had by

⁴¹⁴ Turner, 1982, p. 70.

⁴¹⁵ Gates and Moore, 'Christ Church Cathedral condemned', *The Press*, 02 March 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6509696/Christ-Church-Cathedral-condemned>, (accessed 03 March 2014).

this time resigned was also absent, as was the counterbalance to the bishop that he had provided at the previous media conference.



Figure 15: Bishop Announces Cathedral Deconstruction⁴¹⁶. Photo-David Hallett

Hovering around busily was the PR woman, with clipboard in hand, in my opinion a symbolic suggestion of being in charge of the performance like a stage manager. A number of media people, with their recorders and cameras at the ready, crowded in. Others, such as Charlie Gates, *The Press*'s renowned investigative journalist, were seen on the video clip⁴¹⁷ rushing up after the 'announcement' had started. There were other differences. There was more tension in the air and more combative-type questions.

Firstly, Matthews categorically denied the hearsay that she did not care about the Cathedral because she was new to the city. She denied that she had woken up one morning and made a unilateral decision. Clearly this was a response to the criticism being voiced that she was an autocratic leader and strongly influenced all the decision-making (see Cropp⁴¹⁸ and Wall⁴¹⁹). Whilst I am claiming that this announcement, with Matthew's radio interview a few days later, created the 'breach', I would agree with Turner that:

There is always something altruistic about such a symbolic breach...A dramatic breach may be made by an individual, certainly, but he always acts, or believes he

⁴¹⁶ <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/6509814/Christ-Church-Cathedral-to-be-pulled-down> (accessed 12 April 2013).

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Cropp, 2013.

⁴¹⁹ T. Wall, 'Division over Christchurch's cathedral', *The Press*, 11 December 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/6121026/Division-over-Christchurchs-cathedral>, (accessed 23 February 2013).

*acts on behalf of other parties...he sees himself as a representative, not as a lone hand*⁴²⁰.

This is evidenced by Matthew's claim to be representing the Church and to be acting out of concerns for human safety in an altruistic manner. Immediately after the bishop's three-minute announcement and the media questioning, there were clusters of whispering men, including the Wizard and city councillors, discussing the announcement with obvious concern. Very evident was what Schechner would call 'the cool down and aftermath' phases of the performance sequence, as people reacted in various ways to what had happened⁴²¹. Matthews was under enormous personal stress, according to two concerned friends. *The Press* stated, 'Yesterday at 2pm, the Bishop of Christchurch passed the death sentence on a city's old and much loved friend,' commenting that Matthews chose her words carefully and:

*given the passion, grief and anger this decision will generate, she was best advised to. The Cathedral will be "deconstructed with the utmost care and respect while at the same time protecting the treasures within its walls ... there would be no bulldozers or wrecking balls, on the job."*⁴²²

Gates reported that Parker tried, just after the announcement, to resurrect an earlier suggestion that the State, City Council and Church go into some sort of partnership to deal with the Cathedral⁴²³. Thus, immediately following the breach, as would suggest, there was an effort by a city leader to contain the possible ensuing crisis, even to seek a compromise which could heal the breach. One participant told me that he personally had suggested such a partnership to the bishop some months earlier. She was sympathetic to the idea, but he thought that there had been no response from the CCC. Matthew's reported response to Parker's approach was: 'that is not a possibility for the Church. The cathedral needs to sit on Anglican land because of the whole notion of consecration.' She added: 'prayer has soaked into the walls and the earth. You can't walk away from that'⁴²⁴. I am not sure how,

⁴²⁰ Turner, 1974, p. 38.

⁴²¹ R. Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985, p. 18ff.

⁴²² C. Moore, 'But the cathedral will come down', *The Press*, 03 March 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/6516482/But-the-cathedral-will-come-down>, (accessed 24 July 2015).

⁴²³ C. Gates, 'Parker's cathedral plea spurned', *The Press*, 03 March 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6516331/Parkers-Cathedral-plea-spurned>, (accessed 24 July 2015).

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

symbolically, this gels with the former ritual of deconsecration but does play into Eliade's⁴²⁵ ideas of axis mundi, the centre that connects heaven and earth.

As previously documented, there had been some skirmishes over the previous six months between the CCC and CERA and CCC and CPT. However, this announcement by Matthews of the Church's decision - a decision largely interpreted as her own in spite of her reassurances - I contend opened the breach between the Church and a considerable section of Christchurch.

This breach was confirmed four days later when Matthews was interviewed by local broadcaster Mike Yardley on public radio. In my opinion, this interview indicates the transgression of 'regular, norm-governed social relations'⁴²⁶. Yardley asked Matthews why the Church's files were not open to the public, as requested by the Government, so that people could see how the decision was reached. Matthews replied:

*Why am I needing to have the public confidence that you speak of if I believe I have done due diligence in this matter?...I actually answer to my God, I answer to my Standing Committee, I answer to the Church Property Trust, I answer to the people of the Diocese*⁴²⁷.

This statement was commonly construed as the bishop not caring about public opinion. I suggest that it actually announced the rupture between the Anglican Church and the people of Christchurch. Her choice of 'God language' is noted and I would agree with Gaddy:

*God talk in the public square not only contributes to the compromise of religion but threatens the vitality of democracy. Not infrequently God talk has been used in attempts to shut down debate on an issue or to silence voices of opposition to an issue*⁴²⁸.

That appears to be what was being attempted on this occasion. I also suggest that Matthew's response indicates a disregard for what has become a New Zealand cultural norm. Public consultation, collaboration and compromise have become valued and obligatory in the past half-century, in part because of the requirement to honour the issues of partnership outlined

⁴²⁵ M. Eliade, D. Apolstolis-Cappadona, *Symbolism, the Sacred and the Arts*, New York: Crossroads, 1985.

⁴²⁶ Turner, 1974, p. 38.

⁴²⁷ Newstalk ZB, 'Mike Yardley interviews Bishop Victoria Matthews', 06 March 2011, <http://collections.soundarchives.co.nz/search.do?view=detail&id=109536&db=object> (accessed 20 July 2015).

⁴²⁸ C. Gaddy, 'God Talk in the Public Square', in C. Badaracco (ed.), *Quoting God*, Waco, TX, Baylor University Press, 2000, p. 56.

in the Treaty of Waitangi. Certainly Matthew's apparent unwillingness to collaborate with those opposed to the Church's decision-making processes and outcome was a criticism often reiterated and as will be seen, was the major issue initially that protestors sought to remedy⁴²⁹. Yardley's final question articulated what many people told me they were wondering: 'Do you understand the pulse of Christchurch? Do you understand us?' After several seconds of silence, Matthews replied, 'That is the rudest question I have ever been asked.' The interview then ended abruptly. Nevertheless, in my opinion this was a valid question. One of my participants felt 'she doesn't really like us'. Another commented that the bishop was never to be seen at any of Christchurch's cultural events, such as the Court Theatre and 'she doesn't really know us'. I question whether anyone, even an anthropologist, can completely understand the nuances of another culture, particularly in the few years that Matthews had lived in New Zealand.

In the first week after she arrived in Christchurch, in an interview when she was asked about being a woman bishop (she was the first such in Canada), Matthews stated:

*The challenge has nothing to do with gender. The challenge has to do with coming to a new part of the world and learning a new culture, a new language in part because I don't speak Maori at the moment, and learning to steer the good ship Christchurch wherever God would have her sail*⁴³⁰.

As I have noted elsewhere, a number of commentators have referenced Matthew's gender. Some have 'othered' her. For example, Anna Crighton, chair of the Canterbury Earthquake Heritage Building Trust commented, 'Christchurch people are very parochial...and the cathedral is inherent in the whole culture of this city. For any outsider to come in and not take cognisance of that, can result in a disastrous decision'⁴³¹. Another comment I heard was, 'How dare a Canadian come in and tell us what to do with our cathedral.'

Over a year later, reporter Philip Matthews, reflecting with the bishop on the Yardley interview, asked her if criticisms like these strike her as misogynistic and xenophobic:

I guess the way that I would prefer to put it, and this is not being Pollyanna-ish, is that if the worst you can do is call me a woman and a Canadian, I don't feel too badly... There was some of that - 'It's time that you went home.' Well, I'm here to do

⁴²⁹ Burdon, 'Bishop's attitude to Cathedral 'bizarre'', 14 March 2014.

⁴³⁰ Stuff (website), 'Christchurch bishop: it's a matter of faith not gender', *Sunday Star Times*, 24 August 2008, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/594931/Christchurch-bishop-Its-a-matter-of-faith-not-gender> (accessed 04 April 2014).

⁴³¹ A. Crighton, quoted in T. Wall, 11 December, 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6121027/Division-over-Christchurchs-cathedral> , (accessed 09 July 2016).

*something I feel called to do by God and I do it to the best of my ability. I'm not for a moment saying I always get it right. None of us always get it right*⁴³².

In my reporting of the breach and the above interchange with Yardley, I argue with Turner:

*Affect is primary, though an element of cognitive calculation is usually present, and the transgressor's will to assert power or identity usually incites the will to resist his action among representatives of the normative standard, which he has infringed... Quite often however, when a social field is divided into two camps or factions, one will proceed under the ostensible banner of rationality, while the other will manifest in its words and deeds the more romantic qualities of willing and feeling*⁴³³.

Throughout this controversy, Matthews appears to have proceeded under the rationale of safety and later financial exigencies, whilst her opponents initially used affective and volitional arguments but later moved to more logical reasoning, such as arguing that there was an engineers' agreement that the Cathedral could be restored and that therefore this Category One Heritage building should be saved.

THE CRISIS

According to Turner, in a social drama, following the breach, there is a crisis phase which may be defined as 'a time of intense difficulty or danger, when difficult or important decisions must be made'⁴³⁴, or as Schechner puts it, 'crisis=crux, cross, crossing, decisive meeting place'⁴³⁵. Turner paints a vivid picture of this contagious second phase of a social drama. 'People take sides, or rather are in the process of being induced, seduced, cajoled, nudged, or threatened to take sides by those who confront one another across the revealed breach as prime antagonists'⁴³⁶. Some of the subsequent events in the Cathedral situation may easily be analysed as efforts to encourage people to take sides and in this way the crisis escalated quickly. The media itself had some role in this, as different reporters argued one way or the other. In this next section I show some of the efforts made to get people to take sides. I acknowledge some difficulty in deciding just what was a crisis or recruiting event and what was a redressive action.

⁴³² P. Matthews, 'The Anglican iron lady', *The Press*, 07 April, 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/8517544/The-Anglican-iron-lady>, (accessed 10 March 2014).

⁴³³ Turner, 1986, p. 91.

⁴³⁴ V. Turner, 1977, cited Oxford Dictionaries, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/crisis> (accessed 28 July 2015).

⁴³⁵ Schechner, 'Forward' in Turner, 1986, p. 9.

⁴³⁶ Turner, 1986, p. 34.

I have already noted Mayor Parker's unsuccessful attempt to avert a crisis. Three days after the deconstruction announcement, City Councillor Keown e-mailed television channels, today's equivalent, with *The Press* and social media, of Turner's 'forum', that is the place where discussion takes place. Keown asked them to host a televised debate on the Cathedral's future because there were too many conflicting opinions on whether or not the building could be saved⁴³⁷. The following day, *The Press* reported that TVNZ would host the debate but that the Anglican Church had declined to appear, because the decision had already been made⁴³⁸. In the end, the debate was cancelled, with Keown claiming that the Church had completely misread and misjudged public opinion⁴³⁹. I agree. Keown's action to contain the crisis and seek a solution failed, as did his position on the CCC at the next local election.

The same week CERA engineer John O'Hagan appeared on national television to demonstrate, with close-up shots of the building (later published in *The Press*), the extent of the Cathedral's damage. This is reminiscent of the strategy used following the previous announcement when TV coverage of the city and cathedral was aired. O'Hagan explained how their engineers had gone inside the Cathedral for three minutes and taken pictures of the interior. As a result of what they saw they confiscated the keys to the Cathedral, announced it was a very dangerous building and forbade anyone to enter⁴⁴⁰. It seems that CERA wished to assist the Church - and contain the crisis - by emphasising to the public the dangerous nature of the Cathedral and the wisdom and inevitability of the joint decision to deconstruct it. In other words, I think they sought to gain support for their side of the argument. Meanwhile other groups were forming to oppose what they termed 'the demolition,' as against Matthew's more moderate term, 'deconstruction'. The choice of words and their constructed meanings became crucial in the debate. Other examples would be people's confused understandings of the meaning of 'dangerous building' or 'making safe'.

⁴³⁷ Fairfax, 'Call for TV cathedral debate', *The Press*, 05 March 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/6526291/Call-for-TV-cathedral-debate>, (accessed 10 May 2014).

⁴³⁸ R. Young, 'Televised cathedral debate confirmed', *The Press*, 6 March 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6532634/Televised-cathedral-debate-confirmed>, (accessed 24 May 2014).

⁴³⁹ S. Sachdeva, 'Christ Church Cathedral debate canned', *The Press*, 12 March 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/6558302/Christ-Church-Cathedral-debate-canned>, (accessed 24 May 2014).

⁴⁴⁰ J. O'Hagan, 'Christchurch Cathedral Damage' (CERA video), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U6S4EZPClfg>, (accessed 12 April 2013).

Two days later, CERA opened a controlled walkway into the Square over two weekends, for people ostensibly to farewell the Cathedral⁴⁴¹. As I have already stated, emotionally this seemed to have occurred in November 2011 when that walkway event was treated as a funeral. On the first occasion of this new initiative, over 30,000 people took the opportunity to attend. The first day of viewing went ahead sadly and quietly, according to *The Press* report, with people taking photographs of themselves or one another, the gaping hole of the Cathedral in the background. There was an air of subjectivity and liminality about it all.

Meanwhile groups were forming to oppose the Church's decision and to glean support for this opposition. The Wizard, standing on a ladder in front of the museum, with about 12 people present, launched his appeal to save the Cathedral.

*If we take down the Cathedral, not only have we lost our soul, we will be seen in the future as monstrous and hideous and we will destroy our tourism industry...If we knock that Cathedral down, we are killing the goose that lays the golden egg and we are killing our soul*⁴⁴².

He urged people to sign a Christchurch Civic Trust petition to *Save the Cathedral and other Heritage Buildings* when they visited the Square the following weekend on the second viewing day. In fact, hundreds of people did just that. Unlike the record of the previous weekend, on this occasion - which I attended - there was almost a festive air, as people walked past the building, with the Wizard haranguing the crowd. Others tied yellow ribbons to a fence, a custom which seems to have become common in America, with an uncertain etymology. I am unsure of what it meant in the context of the walkway experience. It could have signaled solidarity with those going into battle for the Cathedral or maybe simply a symptom of mourning. Symbols contain various meanings as I have earlier argued.

⁴⁴¹ J. McKenzie-McLean, 'Thousands farewell cathedral: opportunity to view damage first hand', *The Press*, 10 March 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6555342/Thousands-farewell-cathedral>, (accessed 25 July 2015).

⁴⁴² C. Gates, 'Wizard launches cathedral campaign: "we are killing the golden goose"', *The Press*, 14 March 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/6574589/Wizard-launches-cathedral-campaign>, (accessed 25 July 2014).



Figure 16: The Wizard addressing the walk-way crowd⁴⁴³. Photo-Don Scott/Fairfax NZ

Cairns reported:

*Christchurch resident Emma Frost was among the first to sign the petition. She believed that Christchurch would never be the same without the Cathedral and said it should be saved whatever the cost... "F*** the cost," she said. "It's got to be saved. This is more than just a Christian place. I'm a pagan but I liked to go and sit there and meditate. After 9/11 I went there and lit candles - it's a place with a lot of meaning"*⁴⁴⁴.

Arguably, the Church and CERA were using this walkway event to emphasise the validity of their deconstruction decision. By demonstrating awareness that people would want to farewell the building, they could be seen to empathise with public feelings of loss. I consider this an astute political act, given the amount of previous publicity suggesting that neither organisation cared about public sentiment. On the other hand, opponents to the decision were using the emotional event to whip up support for their oppositional stance, with the leadership of the Wizard calling for a public movement of opposition.

Meanwhile, Beck spoke out in support of the Church's decision, saying that the December 23 earthquake had changed a lot of things and it was time to move on⁴⁴⁵. Because of his position on the CCC this could be seen as an effort to bring citizens and Church together but I was told of surprise by some on the CCC that Beck seemed to have changed his opinion. This

⁴⁴³ <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6592605/Cantabrians-farewell-cathedral>, (accessed 12 April 2014).

⁴⁴⁴ Cairns, L. 'Cantabrians farewell cathedral: Wizard petitions to save city icon', *The Press*, 17 March 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6592605/Cantabrians-farewell-cathedral>, (accessed 25 July 2014).

⁴⁴⁵ B. Heather, 'Beck backs plan to demolish cathedral', *The Press*, 08 March 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6540934/Beck-backs-plan-to-demolish-cathedral>, (accessed 13 May 2014).

person claimed that Beck had been elected to the CCC on his opposition to the bishop and his desire to see the Cathedral restored. (This was in spite of Beck's clear statement in November 2011 that a new Cathedral would be built). It was noted again that Matthews was refusing to release to the public the engineering and economic papers used by the Church to come to their decision. In the same article, Heather also reported: 'Speaking from Tokyo yesterday, international earthquake engineering expert Kit Miyamoto said the church's decision was "frustrating" when the cathedral was clearly salvageable'⁴⁴⁶. It is interesting to ponder at what point the Church began to admit the building could be safely restored but that the cost was prohibitive, thus moving the argument to the economic discourse.

At the beginning of April, Matthews was publically presented with a letter supporting the decision to deconstruct the Cathedral⁴⁴⁷ signed by the leaders of seventy churches and Christian organisations, mostly conservative or Pentecostal. A photo and report of this appeared in *The Press*⁴⁴⁸. One senior Anglican interviewee noted that none of the signatories were Anglicans or from 'main line' churches, but rather were from the Pentecostal and conservative Christian denominations. In this person's opinion, the publicised action had the further effect of pitting the Church and Christians against the public, a very bad public relations move, he thought. It certainly positioned conservative and Pentecostal Christians on the side of the bishop.

Thus, for two months there was a sense of crisis. Everyone I spoke with had an opinion. Many people expressed theirs in print (e.g Letters to the Editor and opinion pieces) or in the social media. It seemed obvious that the Church, with CERA's support, was steadfastly going ahead with its plans for the deconstruction of the Cathedral, whilst groups were marshalling to oppose the decision.

'Save our Cathedral Leadership Ginger Group', comprising people from several oppositional groups met and planned their initial actions on mid-April 2012⁴⁴⁹. This group included the Wizard (who had launched his own campaign), Belton (who later initiated 'Restore Christ Church Cathedral' (RCC)), and individuals with considerable political experience. This is evident in their planning and the execution of initiatives. The various protesting groups

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6682160/Church-leaders-back-bishop>, (accessed 14 June 2013).

⁴⁴⁸ O. Carville, 'Church leaders back bishop', *The Press*, 03 pril 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6682160/Church-leaders-back-bishop>, (accessed 14 July 2014).

⁴⁴⁹ Jim Anderton papers deposited in Macmillan Brown Library at University of Canterbury.

appeared to be reasonably disparate and not simply elderly male power-mongers, as some people suggested. For example, at one point the Church's spokesperson, Jayson Rhodes, dismissively suggested most people wanted Anderton and Burdon, co-chairs GCBT 'to get a new hobby'⁴⁵⁰. This is an incident of verbal violence, which I argue was being used by both sides of the argument. When I asked why all the protest groups didn't form one cohesive group, I was told that GCBT were the chief negotiators, whereas Church authorities told me that even if they came to a compromise with GCBT, other groups would then bring other actions. This warning had come because of the legal opinions by a top law firm granted to RCC who were arguing against any option except complete restoration.

From the above accounts it will be seen that following the breach, after the mayor's bumbled attempt at a solution, there were a number of attempts to gain support for their various positions by the Church, CERA and the emerging protest groups, with emotions running high. This crisis period was the time of recruitment.

REDRESSIVE ACTIONS

STOP THE DEMOLITION AND LET'S WORK TOGETHER

Within a few weeks of the bishop's announcement, the Cathedral deconstruction quietly began, with the careful retrieval and storage of stained glass windows and the boarding up of the window gaps. There was little - if any - public comment about this. However, on Friday, 20 April, *The Press* announced that demolition of the tower would begin on the following Monday⁴⁵¹. The article also carried the news that the Wizard was inviting people to attend a protest gathering the next day at the Anglican Synod. I attended this Synod and needed to negotiate, at the gates, a straggly bunch of protesters waving placards. The bishop, flanked by senior clerics, went out to meet with these protesters in her tea break, listened to the Wizard for a few minutes, then suggested a proper meeting to talk 'to' rather than 'about' one

⁴⁵⁰ P. Matthews, 'Unholy war over cathedral', 29 March 2014.

⁴⁵¹ C. Gates, 'Cathedral's tower set to go next week', *The Press*, 20 April 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6776636/Cathedrals-tower-set-to-go-next-week>, (accessed 09 March 2013).

another, the following week at her office⁴⁵². The Wizard promised that if Matthews would just stop the demolition, they would be her friends for life.

Just prior to this suggested meeting to talk to one another, *The Press* displayed vivid pictures of huge claw-like machinery biting into the Cathedral tower, with clouds of dust rising and rubble falling in great hunks. I was told later that the newspaper had been asked and agreed not to print inciting pictures. If true, this was another agreement that was not honoured and added to the Church's suspicion of the media. On *The Press* website, an on-the-spot video was posted, with commentary by Gates⁴⁵³.



Figure 17: Demolition of Cathedral Tower. Video-Daniel Tobin. Photo-John Kirk-Anderson

In my opinion, these pictures and video clips had a profoundly galvanizing effect on many people, reminding them of the trauma and losses of the earthquakes. The picture on the left above was displayed for years on top of the rubble of another neo-Gothic church, questionably demolished after the first earthquake, with the caption 'Don't let this happen to our Cathedral'. Sympathy was gleaned for those who were focused on saving the Cathedral, with a further taking of sides. Later, journalist Clarke, who was opposed to the demolition, reported on TV3 that four high-up webcams were keeping an eye on the Cathedral and had

⁴⁵² Fairfax media, 'Bishop meets cathedral demolition protesters', *The Press*, 21 April 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/6785070/Bishop-meets-Cathedral-demolition-protestors>, (accessed 12 July 2014).

⁴⁵³ C. Gates, 'Crane begins tower's demolition', *The Press*, 23 April 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6791906/Crane-begins-towers-demolition>, (accessed 02 August 2015).

been archiving the demolition⁴⁵⁴. This added to the suggestion the city was witnessing the destruction of its heritage.

The proposed meeting between Church authorities and twelve selected protesters (I wonder, perhaps fancifully, why that number was chosen, given Last Supper connotations) was held at the bishop's makeshift office. A leading protester, Mark Belton, was reported afterwards as being hopeful that the meeting would bear fruit and the demolition would be halted, so that restoration options could be explored. He was 'glad of this first real chance for dialogue', he said⁴⁵⁵. Again, the issue of lack of consultation appears to one of the main points of contention.

The group was surprised that after the initial presentation by the leaders, but before discussion with them, Matthews disappeared out the back door to talk with television reporters. She and Burdon appeared that night on national television⁴⁵⁶. At this meeting the bishop said that the tower would need to come down because it was so dangerous and she would give a response to the group's halt proposal within a week. She did. She refused the proposal. This lack of willingness to engage in dialogue was raised by a number of my participants. However, it could be argued that protesters' perception of dialogue was the bishop agreeing with their proposals to stop demolition and consider restoration. Her perception was that she was being bullied. Following Blumer⁴⁵⁷, I suggest that the interpretation of the meaning of one another's actions is a factor in these encounters.

Before the tower was almost completely demolished eighty-three prominent citizens published an open letter calling for the demolition to be halted⁴⁵⁸. I checked the biographies of these signatories, who had been invited by the letter writer, or in one case cajoled, to sign. The choice of signatories appears astute and revealing. Included are descendants of the early colonists, Wakefield and Godley and those who arrived on the first four ships, who in the

⁴⁵⁴ H. Clarke, 'Web cams watch cathedral demolition', *3 News*, 20 June 2012, <http://www.3news.co.nz/Web-cams-watch-cathedral-demolition/tabid/423/articleID/258475/Default.aspx#ixzz2gLNOC4oQ>, (accessed 08 July 2015).

⁴⁶⁴ R. Young, 'Group hopes cathedral will be saved', *The Press*, 27 April 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6817625/Group-hopes-cathedral-will-be-saved>, (accessed 10 May 2014).

⁴⁵⁶ Mark Belton talks to the media after meeting with Bishop Victoria Matthews, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Zn1PLFkeVk>, (accessed 24 August 2016).

⁴⁵⁷ Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism*, 1969.

⁴⁵⁸ M. Greenhill, R. Young, 'Save our cathedral Cantabrians plead', *The Press*, 03 May, 2012. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6848757/Save-our-cathedral-Cantabrians-pleads>, (accessed 12 June 2015).

past, as I have suggested, have formed a superficial elite. As well, the Stewart family, leading industrialists in the city were well represented, along with people from various cultural and art groups, people who would be representative of what is called 'the Establishment,' who, some participants suggested, were fighting for a renewal of their status position in the city. *The Press* noted that this group of signatories also supported the petition signed by more than 100 senior earthquake and structural engineers who happened to be meeting in Christchurch and who said that the Cathedral could be restored. This petition was apparently promoted by Belton of RCC and is another example of building sides in the controversy. In fact, later the opinion of engineers proved crucial. These letter and petition signatories are thus identifying themselves with the pre-earthquake cultural capital of the city, in opposition to the Anglican Church's unexpected stance.

At the same time, the GCBT lawyer sent a letter to the Diocesan Chancellor offering to work with the Church for an agreed rather than an adversarial outcome ⁴⁵⁹. Next day the same offer was sent to the CPT and followed up by Peter Graham of GCBT with two letters, a week apart. Apparently Matthews then responded the same day with a 'Thank you, but no thank you'. Anderton told me they fully expected that the Church would be delighted to have assistance to save their building. As another participant said 'if you could save a Category 1 heritage building, why wouldn't you?' In fact, it later appeared that under these circumstances, saving the building would be mandatory. I report this interchange because it feeds into my argument that the Church authorities did not appreciate the depth of feeling that many people, but particularly the overt protesters, had for the building or the strength of the heritage arguments. It also demonstrates the initial unwillingness to collaborate, which is one of the outstanding features of the controversy.

The RCC website states, that because of professional engineering and building opinions that they had obtained, saying that restoration was feasible, they went ahead with the post-Synod meeting with the Bishop. When this proved unproductive they then lobbied politicians⁴⁶⁰. RCC had proposed sharing restoration costs between the Anglican Diocese, the Christchurch City Council and the Government. Fundraising, they said, would provide the balance of funds. At that stage this suggestion did not seem feasible but several years later was part of the negotiations for a way forward.

⁴⁵⁹ Anderton archive.

⁴⁶⁰ Restore Christchurch Cathedral (website), <http://restorechristchurchcathedral.co.nz/> (accessed 03 February 2013).

Meanwhile, the Wizard was launching his own advertising campaign and put an advertisement in *The Press*. Sachdeva reported him as saying:

Bishop Victoria Matthews "will be deconstructed" at a rally outside the Canterbury Museum at noon on Sunday. "I have examined the Bishop's foundations and have discovered that they are built on sand. She is in a very dangerous state, being seriously cracked, and I can see no evidence that she can be made safe." He said Matthews had showed how much she "hates and despises" the people of Christchurch. He calls her "as dull and bland as her beloved Cardboard Cathedral," but refers to himself as having "attractive Gothic features". The deconstruction would be carefully done in order to rescue the real treasure. "This treasure is the loving and honest faith of our Anglican ancestors." The Wizard also promises the demolition of members of the Anglican chapter who are still backing Matthews⁴⁶¹.

A complaint to the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) from an Anglican cleric was dismissed, with the Authority stating that it was in keeping with the Wizard's persona and sense of humour and was a dark play on words⁴⁶². However, this publicity did engender concern for the bishop's personal safety, and is in keeping with Turner's observation of threats or actual physical violence during a social drama. One participant told me that the Wizard's antics were a source of embarrassment to some protesters and were counter-productive. Others told me that Patterson, Chapter members and CPT personnel, as well as Matthews, were recipients of intense and prolonged lobbying and personal vilification.

Members of the RCC group, including Anglican priest, the Rev Louise Deans, whose historic homestead had been destroyed in the September earthquake, appeared as a deputation before the City Council, asking for a pause in demolition. Belton, the group's spokesperson, gave an impassioned ten-minute presentation to the Councillors. After a heated discussion, a vote to request CERA to call for a halt to Cathedral demolition was won 10/4. The Mayor, Deputy Mayor, Beck and one other councillor voted in the negative. The CCC also sent a request to the bishop and the CPT to pause the demolition so that there could be a wider search for restoration possibilities. The Church replied that they had considered the suggestions for restoration, found nothing new in them and would be proceeding with the deconstruction. This then was another failed attempt to heal the breach.

⁴⁶¹ S. Sachdeva, 'Councillors ask for cathedral demolition halt', *The Press*, 17 May 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/6940947/Councillors-ask-for-cathedral-demolition-halt>, (accessed 03 February 2013).

⁴⁶² J. Dally, 'Complaint about Wizard ad dismissed', *The Press*, 22 June 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/7153488/Complaint-about-Wizard-ad-dismissed>, (accessed 03 February 2013).

Brownlee, responding to the CCC request said that the vote, which was touted by campaigners as a moral victory, was deeply insulting to the Anglican Church who had gone about the process in a methodical and constructive manner and that he would not be intervening:

*We haven't gone around taking buildings off other people and we are not about to do that with the Anglican Church...They are going about this in a very considered and methodical manner, and they should be allowed to continue to do that*⁴⁶³.

This incident demonstrates Brownlee's support for the Church's decision making but also the divide between the CCC and the Government. Turner discovered:

*The phase of crisis exposes the pattern of current factional struggle with the relevant social group, be it village, neighbourhood or chiefdom; and beneath...there becomes visible the less plastic, more durable, but nevertheless changing basic social structure, made up of relations that are constant and consistent*⁴⁶⁴.

I have already indicated that there were pre-earthquake fissures in the social structure of government, that is, within the CCC itself and between it and central Government.

NOW LET'S SHOW THAT THE PUBLIC WANTS THE CATHEDRAL SAVED

Anderton's archives reveal his political acumen, honed after many years in Parliament in four separate political parties. His papers show the considerable amount of back-stage planning involved for a public march and rally to 'Save the Cathedral', which was held on 26 May. In spite of somewhat inclement weather, thousands, including a number of high profile citizens such as members of Parliament and city councillors attended this rally. The video coverage shows people of all ages involved. Many marchers sported placards and chanted enthusiastically. Anderton asked the crowd:

*What is the city called? Christ Church. It is after the Church - and the Anglican Church doesn't seem to have the remotest idea of the culture of this city and how we have to maintain it - and their place in doing it*⁴⁶⁵.

Former mayor, Moore spoke passionately, as did Belton. Moore reminded people that the four estates were involved in the foundation of the city and each of their buildings was badly damaged, or in *The Press's* case, destroyed. Councillor Helen Broughton, who had requested

⁴⁶³ Sachdeva, 17 May 2012.

⁴⁶⁴ Turner, 1967, p. 91.

⁴⁶⁵ L. Cairns, 'Thousands rally to save cathedral', *The Press*, 26 May 2012, www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/.../Thousands-rally-to-save-Cathedral, (accessed 01 August 2015).

the CCC vote, again called on the Church to pause the demolition and engage in dialogue. Belton said it was astounding that the city's citizens had claimed spiritual ownership of the Cathedral. From an analysis of the comments abounding at that time, it seems that the Church was implacable in its refusal to dialogue with the protesters, a stance that was consistently held. Later, the court cases were used by the Church as the excuse to keep the door shut, until a court judgment required public consultation.

In using Turner's framework, I had some difficulty in deciding when the crisis phase moved into the redressive action phase; that is when various moves were made to resolve the crisis and restore a sense of social equilibrium. For some time, assorted actions seemed to widen the breach and cause further crises. The issue was the Church's decision, with CERA's backing, to bring the Cathedral down to windowsill level. At first, protesters endeavoured to get the Church to pause deconstruction, engage in further engineering consultations and reconsider restoration. When that failed, their appeal - they said 'reluctantly' - went to the courts. I find it useful to consider these and other activities from then on as being redressive, although the same could be said of earlier actions such as the proposed TV debate, the CCC vote and the public march.

LET'S GIVE THE CITY A TRANSITIONAL CATHEDRAL

One of the first churches built in Christchurch was St Michaels and All Angels, opened in 1872 and designated originally as the Anglican 'pro-Cathedral', that is, acting in place of a cathedral. It was built in wood, a 'veritable forest of trees' according to Anglican art historian Jonathan Mane-Wheoki⁴⁶⁶. In 2011, there was some suggestion that St Michaels, because it had survived the earthquakes, should once again become the pro-Cathedral. This was rejected, ostensibly because it was considered at the time that the Cathedral congregation needed to maintain its own identity and because St Michaels' congregation felt that they would lose theirs. This is an example of the idea that identity is tied to a particular place.

For several months the Cathedral staff were 'sitting around for mutual support and wondering what on earth we should be doing'. Marketing manager, Craig Dixon read about Shigeru Ban, an internationally recognised Japanese architect renowned for working with paper, particularly recycled cardboard tubes, to quickly and efficiently construct post-disaster buildings. Dixon put the idea of contacting Ban to other Cathedral staff:

⁴⁶⁶ Focamp, 'Experts want to save', 2014.

*I didn't necessarily get a warm reception to the idea from the start because it was a bit of a whacky idea, I mean, hey, let's just build a temporary cathedral and let's just use an architect from the other side of the world and let's just build. So you can imagine that there were a few sceptics*⁴⁶⁷.

After considerable internal debate, Anglican Church authorities accepted a pro-bono offer from Shigeru Ban for the design of a 700 seat transitional cathedral, initially called the 'Cardboard Cathedral'. A site in Latimer Square was chosen, where formerly St John's Anglican Church stood, with the plan for a temporary church lasting ten years. The preliminary design was described as tent-like, suitable for people on the move and also echoing the first makeshift churches in Christchurch. It was decided to use \$4m of Cathedral insurance money for this building and the hope was that it would be ready for the second anniversary of the February earthquake.

A ceremony was attended by a group of mostly Cathedral congregants and media people⁴⁶⁸. Shigeru Ban flew in to 'turn the sod', whilst Matthews, in full liturgical garb and looking somewhat mediaeval, blessed the site by sprinkling 'holy' water around its periphery. Pictures of the bishop consecrating the land appeared in the Press and in my opinion must have left most readers mystified about what was going on.

⁴⁶⁷ C. Dixon, interviewed by PA. 11 July 2014.

⁴⁶⁸ F. Lee, 'Site blessed for Cardboard Cathedral', *Stuff* (website), 23 April 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/6788712/Site-blessed-for-cardboard-cathedral>, (accessed 18 September 2013).



Figure 18: Bishop Matthews Consecrates Transitional Cathedral Site⁴⁶⁹. Photo: Lloyd Ashton

This question of presentation is one worth considering. Undoubtedly the media is responsible for some of the ways Matthews is presented, ways which reinforce the notion that she is ‘the iron lady’⁴⁷⁰. She is consistently portrayed in *The Press* in a most unflattering manner and in a way which men in the controversy are spared.

All did not go according to plan for this proposed new worship space. To gain consent from the CCC with its new post-earthquake regulations, the building had to have a particular kind of foundation and be made permanent, that is, able to last fifty years, which almost doubled the initial projected costs of \$4M. After all the consents and contracts were signed and with the foundations laid, the GCBT took the CPT to court. The Judge, interpreting the Anglican (Diocese of Christchurch) Church Property Trust Act 2003, declared that the CPT were at fault for deciding to use some of their insurance monies for a cathedral that was not being built in the Cathedral Square⁴⁷¹. There were arguments about how personally liable the Trustees were, even after the money, borrowed from other Church sources, had been paid back into the insurance fund. These further court actions did not improve relations between

⁴⁶⁹ Anglican Taonga, <http://www.anglicantaonga.org.nz/News/Tikanga-Pakeha/First-sod-turned-for-Transitional-Cathedral>, (accessed 15 November 2014).

⁴⁷⁰ P. Matthews, ‘The Anglican iron lady’, *The Press*, 07 April, 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/8517544/The-Anglican-iron-lady>, (accessed 10 March 2014).

⁴⁷¹ C. Gates, ‘Cardboard Cathedral Plans At Risk’, *The Press*, 17 November 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/7962557/Cardboard-cathedral-plans-at-risk>, (accessed 08 July 2015).

Church and protestors. Because of the contract commitments already made, the Church decided to go ahead with the building.

I am not suggesting that the building of a transitional cathedral was specifically planned as a redressive action in the social drama but it did appear to be a mechanism for getting the city ‘back on side’. The contentions over its financing were certainly a part of the drama and were indicative of the strained relationships, with the CCC refusing to renew its annual grant.



Figure 19: Artist's Impression of the Transitional Cathedral⁴⁷².

Of course not everyone likes this new TC, colloquially known as ‘the Cardboard Cathedral’, but it has received national architectural awards and was touted as a ‘must see’ tourist destination. One participant suggested it was a novel idea that the Church should build a tourist attraction but Cathedral volunteers see it as an opportunity to welcome people from around the world in gracious hospitality, thus continuing a ministry of the previous Cathedral. This new church is in full use as the Cathedral Church of the Anglican Diocese and its flexibility appreciated. But the question remains. It is transitional to what? One participant suggested:

But the Bishop has decided that the seat is to be modern and in that way it is a denial of all the old traditions of the Anglican Church in Canterbury. So it's a very symbolic political move to say we've got a new cathedral and we're going to build a new cathedral. That is a very symbolic break with the old power, the old traditions⁴⁷³.

⁴⁷²https://www.google.co.nz/search?q=transitional+cathedral&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&sqi=2&ved=0ahUKewjM5aO0g9rSAhULIZQKHVvxBkQQ_AUIBygC&biw=1107&bih=731&dpr=1.25#imgrc=blDgmlxzln7xxM:&spf=192 (accessed 08 July 2015).

⁴⁷³ Anonymous Participant, interviewed by PA, 11 March, 2014.

This statement I suggest identifies one of the key issues of the controversy, that the decision of the Church to demolish the Cathedral in the Square is a distinct break with the Establishment of Christchurch. The same observer went on to comment:

*and what is interesting still, what was built is not a New Zealand Cathedral. What would a New Zealand cathedral look like? What would a New Zealand building look like?...but they've already dropped the ball by going to a Japanese architect to design the cathedral*⁴⁷⁴.

I feel sure that this commentator was not voicing a racist objection but I did hear one or two such protests from older citizens with experience of WW2: 'What is a Japanese doing designing *our* cathedral?'

WHAT DOES THE PUBLIC REALLY THINK?

There were several attempts over the next two years to gauge public opinion. This of course suggests that the public should have a say in what happens to the Church's Cathedral and is contrary to Matthew's assertion that she was not answerable to the people of Christchurch. The first poll was conducted by *The Press* in May when it was reported:

*A poll of 359 Cantabrians found the region torn over the fate of Christ Church Cathedral with a majority favouring demolition...However, the comments from those polled revealed it was a tussle between our hearts and our heads. The former reflecting our emotional attachment to the iconic heritage building, the latter understanding that repairs for the cathedral would be costly and potentially dangerous*⁴⁷⁵.

This shows clearly the tension between the cognitive and affective in a social drama and at this stage was demonstrated to have about equal strength.

WHAT WOULD A NEW CATHEDRAL LOOK LIKE?

In June, three months after the deconstruction began, Matthews, Patterson, Read and two architects from a local architectural firm, went on a study tour of fifteen Cathedrals and churches in USA, UK and Europe. They produced a sixty-two-page booklet of their discoveries and impressions about possibilities for a new Christchurch Cathedral⁴⁷⁶. Warren

⁴⁷⁴ Anonymous Participant, interviewed by PA, 11 March, 2014.

⁴⁷⁵ C. Gates, 'Christ Church cathedral should go', *The Press*, 26 May 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/our-rebuild-your-views/6988951/Christ-Church-Cathedral-should-go>, (accessed 03 February 2014).

⁴⁷⁶ Diocese of Christchurch (website), 'Cathedral Conversations/Tour insights', https://s3-ap-southeast-2.amazonaws.com/cathedral1/cathedral_conversations.pdf, (accessed 01 May 2015).

and Mahoney had been chosen as the Diocesan architects, a decision that elicited much critical comment from Church members and others, with the request that if there was to be a new Cathedral, the design be open to international competition. Given what was going on at the time, the decision to publicise an overseas tour seems, in retrospect, somewhat gauche, producing a lot of criticism. It certainly appeared that the Church door was closed to any thought of restoration and had the effect of deepening the chasm, rather than being an action that could help to end the drama. The impression given was that the Church was marching ahead regardless of what anyone else might think or wish.

APPEAL TO HIGHER AUTHORITIES

Some people felt it right to appeal to the Monarchy, perhaps evidence of a lingering colonial subservience. Apparently her Majesty had received an extraordinary amount of correspondence about the Cathedral. It was stated that she intended to seek the Prime Minister Key's reassurances at a private audience. Watkins reported Key as saying:

She will certainly want an update on what's happening there...All I'll be able to do is give her the same reassurance I give Cantabrians, that if we could save the church we would, but on the best advice we've had so far that church can't be saved because of the damage. I think the important issue is ultimately working out what goes on that site next and how we preserve as much of the old Cathedral and maybe reintegrate that in a new building constructed there; that's why they are very carefully going through the deconstruction process. . .but at the end of the day the Queen isn't an engineer and neither am I and so she won't be able to override the engineering advice we've had⁴⁷⁷.

On reflection, I maintain this is an extraordinary statement from Key, making it seem as if the Government would intervene if the Cathedral could be saved. RCC spokesperson Belton said it seemed as if Her Majesty had only been supplied with CERA engineering reports and he would seek to send her the RCC alternative engineering opinions⁴⁷⁸. These moves thus seek intervention from some higher authority, consistent with redressive action. Also indicated is the reliance placed on engineering advice, which at times proved to be contradictory.

⁴⁷⁷ T. Watkins, 'Queen's Christ Church Cathedral plea', *The Press*, 6 June 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/7054279/Queens-Christ-Church-Cathedral-plea>, (accessed 03 February 2012).

⁴⁷⁸ Fairfax media, 'Queen needs more data on cathedral', *The Press*, 09 June 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/cistchurch-earthquake-2011/7071047/Queen-needs-more-data-on-cathedral>, (accessed 03 February 2013).

Meanwhile, Anderton, for the GCBT, was able to persuade Brownlee to use his statutory power and allow GCBT commissioned engineers onto the Cathedral site. Apparently Matthews questioned this, which seems strange, given her relinquishment of canonical jurisdiction of the Cathedral and its contents at the de-consecration ritual. Three of these engineers, including Italian Associate Professor Stephano Pamanini of UC ⁴⁷⁹, produced a report in June that the building could be safely restored to 100% earthquake safety without base isolation.

The Church was invited in July 2012 to engage with this Independent Panel of Seismic Engineers (IPSE) to find a way to restore the Cathedral. Protesters, using their political acumen, were thus building up a path for dialogue. Anderton warned them not to mention the possibility of legal action, which was to be a final solution⁴⁸⁰. The Anderton archive also reveals intensive lobbying, right up to International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in USA and to Prince Charles. The use of networking was very obvious from the archive. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Key confirmed that demolition had halted whilst this engineering report was being considered⁴⁸¹.

A hard-hitting *Press* editorial suggested that this opportunity for dialogue was an opportunity for the Church to redeem itself. Here we see another institution seeking to assist by stating:

*The Anglicans have pushed themselves into a corner, but now they have the chance to turn around and face the room. The Trust's detailed report offers the church the chance to reply in kind and directly confront the issues of money, safety and the feasibility of reconstruction*⁴⁸².

It is interesting in retrospect that this did not appear to happen for another three years when the Government appointed a mediator.

⁴⁷⁹ In a later informal conversation with Pamanini he suggested that New Zealand had a different view towards heritage than what he knew in Italy.

⁴⁸⁰ E-mail, Anderton file.

⁴⁸¹ M. Greenhill and A. Turner, 'Cathedral deconstruction on hold, PM says', *The Press*, 10 July 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/7256703/Cathedral-deconstruction-on-hold-PM-says>, (accessed 03 February 2013).

⁴⁸² Stuff (website), 'Anglican diocese should give account', *The Press*, 14 July 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/editorials/7278281/Anglican-diocese-should-give-account>, (accessed 03 February 2013).

Again the refusal of the Church to release its documents - as requested by the Government - was cited as a real stumbling block to people's acceptance of their decision⁴⁸³. It was suggested to me that the Church decision-makers felt at this stage that they were being bullied rather than invited to dialogue. Again this is an example of different interpretations given to particular actions. Greenhill⁴⁸⁴ noted that Matthews had again indicated she did not want the existing cathedral saved and ruled out a copy being built in Cathedral Square. Meanwhile the sixty-two-page Cathedral Tour report was produced and the opportunity created for the public to comment. This would appear to be the Church's attempt at redressive action.

On 1 August, Anderton met with the bishop and others and was told that after reviewing the IPSE (engineers) report, at a cost of \$12,000, the CPT rejected it and planned to continue the deconstruction⁴⁸⁵. Anderton's archive reveals his reaction:

*The meeting was a deep disappointment to say the least. The bishop was there and it was very apparent that her mind was completely turned against restoration and as far as I could tell always has been. We need to mount a two-pronged attack. One in which we fight in the trenches - the other, prepare our legal guns and political arguments why the Government and Courts should intervene, circumventing the bishop et al.*⁴⁸⁶

OPEN WARFARE BEGINS

Amongst other things, fighting in the trenches seems to have meant trying to find out which people on the decision-making bodies disagreed with the deconstruction decision and were

⁴⁸³ I note that that the Diocesan website was updated by July 2016 and announced, 'This website provides updates from the Church Property Trustees and makes available the information upon which the Church Property Trustees have made their decisions to date. All decisions have been informed by specialist advice as well as a community engagement process held in April 2013. In total, there were 19,272 visits to the Cathedral Conversations website and 3,819 submissions during the engagement process. Additionally, approximately 500 people attended a series of public forums in Christchurch, as well as one in Auckland. There was also an evening for young adults in the Anglican Church in Christchurch and the Diocesan Synod during this time. These meetings brought forward issues and options for consideration by the Trustees along with material from community members and the advice of architects, engineers and a quantity surveyor'. <http://cathedralconversations.co.nz/#/>, (accessed 20 August 2016).

⁴⁸⁴ M. Greenhill, 'Anglicans reject cathedral report', *The Press*, 02 August 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/7402706/Anglicans-reject-cathedral-report>, (accessed 10 March 2013).

⁴⁸⁵ On the Diocesan website there is the letter from Jackie Gillies and Associates (31 July 2012), which would have assisted the CPT to reach this decision. The letter shows the complexity of issues and quotes the ICOMOS charter in weighing up the heritage arguments. I do not know when this letter was first made public. https://s3-ap-southeast-2.amazonaws.com/cathedral1/JGA-150_120731_JG-A_review-IPSE.pdf, (accessed 19 August 2016)

⁴⁸⁶ Anderton archive.

prepared to speak out. I was interviewing a member of one of these bodies just after one of the ensuing court-cases when he had a call from Burdon and said to me as an aside, 'oh, he will be trying to dig dirt'. In the Court session I attended, the judge refused to allow the GCBT lawyers to produce affidavits from CPT members that they claimed indicated dissension.

Anderton and Burdon, co-chairs of the GCBT, began their more intensive campaign in August when *The Press* published their opinion piece on why the Cathedral needed to be restored⁴⁸⁷. None of their arguments were new and focussed on the Church's unwillingness to release their papers and to dialogue meaningfully. In fact, I began to notice a 'broken record' approach on both sides of the argument, with each confrontational incident embedding their positions even further. The bishop's main line was the safety of people, GCBT's the Church's refusal to dialogue.

LET THE COURTS DECIDE

Greenhill reported that the GCBT was seeking a declaratory judgement or binding court ruling, to determine if the Church's plans breached the Act of Parliament that protected Church buildings⁴⁸⁸. Apparently their legal advice was that they had a strong case. The Church was reported to be very disappointed by this breakdown of relationships. They said they had stopped any kind of dialogue because of court proceedings. It appears that there had been practically none to that point anyway. This reversion to the courts was a clear redressive action, one which Turner has said often occurs in a social drama⁴⁸⁹.

A month later, protest groups held a joint public meeting to explain the reasons for their court action. I went to this meeting, which was well attended and carefully controlled, with Anderton telling the Wizard that public ridicule of the bishop did not help the cause. Belton had already been warned⁴⁹⁰ to stop making incendiary media statements. The language then and afterwards was that of warfare...campaigns and battles. Rev. Louise Deans spoke of the loss of her own historic residence 'Homebush' and the need to save the Cathedral, whilst

⁴⁸⁷ J. Anderton and P. Burdon, 'Why Christ Church Cathedral should be restored',

The Press, 10 August 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/7451075/Why-Christ-Church-Cathedral-should-be-restored>, (accessed 10 March 2013).

⁴⁸⁸ M. Greenhill, 'Anderton takes church to High Court, *The Press*, 10 August 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/7450472/Anderton-takes-church-to-High-Court>, (accessed 10 March 2013).

⁴⁸⁹ Turner, 1974, p. 39.

⁴⁹⁰ Anderton archive.

challenging the Church's theology of martyrdom and stating her belief that the Christian God is the God of history. Belton told me afterwards that he believed that the bishop was lying, a notion I heard several times. Again this is an example of a varying interpretation of words and actions.



Figure 20: Louise Deans Addresses 'Save the Cathedral' Meeting. Belton in Background⁴⁹¹. Photo: Dean Kozenic

The High Court heard GCBT's case that argued that the CPT was not legally at liberty to deconstruct the Cathedral. The beginning of the hearing and the arguments were reported on national television⁴⁹², an indication of the national interest in the dispute. The Court ordered that demolition of the Cathedral must stop, (which in fact it already had), and that a 'judicial review' be conducted. Both sides claimed this as a victory. Burdon said:

*We must hope that we can have a constructive, empathetic discussion with the church that takes into account all their concerns on the one hand, and on the other hand the broader concerns of the wider community*⁴⁹³.

Again the idea of a constructive conversation seemed by some to suggest 'see it my way and do what I want'. I am not totally convinced that this is true. Matthews's response was:

⁴⁹¹ 'High Court to hear court case next month', *The Press*, 07 September 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/7629451/High-Court-to-hear-cathedral-case-next-month>, (accessed 14 July 2014)

⁴⁹² Newshub (website), 'cathedral demolition unlawful', *3news*, 3 October 2012, <http://www.newshub.co.nz/nznews/cathedral-demolition-unlawful--anderton-2012100317>, (accessed 10 March 2013).

⁴⁹³ L. Frykberg, 'Christchurch Cathedral demolition plans halted by High Court', *3News*, 15 November 2012, <http://www.3news.co.nz/nznews/christchurch-cathedral-demolition-plans-halted-by-high-court->, (accessed 03 August 2015).

*We are pleased the decision to deconstruct the old cathedral and rebuild a new cathedral was confirmed by the judge. As we have said since March, the new design will be a mixture of old and new and it will be beautiful*⁴⁹⁴.

She said that architects were already working on a design for a new Cathedral but Burdon said the Church should not get ahead of itself because if they thought this was a victory, 'I can't imagine what they regard as a defeat'⁴⁹⁵.

In this November judgment, Judge Chisholm said that the Church needed to commit to building *a* Cathedral on that site. It was not required to replicate *the* Cathedral as it stood pre-earthquake. He required them to come up with a plan and evidence of public consultation before the demolition halt decision could be revoked.

This requirement of public consultation thus addressed the criticism of Matthew's earlier comment that this was unnecessary. Using trust law, Chisholm questioned the legality of the Church using \$4m of Cathedral insurance monies to fund a transitional cathedral. The Church later sought a ruling on this and the Attorney General sent an opinion to the High Court that this was illegal. There was some concern at the time about the personal liability of Trustees, placing considerable additional stress on them, I was told. A later judgment acknowledged that the Trustees had acted in extraordinary times and that the monies had been repaid into the Cathedral Trust Fund and they were not personally liable. This decision was then further challenged in the Court by GCBT and the final decision that they had lost the case appeared in the Christchurch Press on the day I first drafted this chapter⁴⁹⁶. The rhetoric of the Church was that they had won all the court cases. However, they had not won over their opponents.

OTHER DESIGNS SUGGESTED

2013 began with the release of a bold new Cathedral design by Mayor Parker which he said was an effort to move things along. In other words, a redressive action. This plan involved keeping what could be kept and encasing the whole thing in glass. His inspiration was Norway's Hedmar Cathedral Museum. Parker argued that the city needed something to remind future generations of what had happened. Others had said that the building of a replica Cathedral would not reference what had happened in the city. At the same time Don Donnithorne, a prominent local architect, released his plan. Neither seems to have received

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Stuff (website), 'Anglican Diocese of Christchurch cleared over Cathedral funding breach,' *The Press*, 06 August 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/70867201/anglican-diocese-of-christchurch-cleared-over-cathedral-funding-breach>, (accessed 13 November 2015).

much traction. Another design, this one by leading architect and Canon Almoner Sir Miles Warren - a wooden replica in the style first proposed by Sir Gilbert Scott - was also published and appeared to go on the back burner. Later, in October, another daring design for the Square, including a Cathedral memorial was launched. Each of these designs appeared to be independent of the wishes of the Cathedral owners and which, at one point, Matthews suggested was like other people deciding what a person should do about their damaged home. This indicates, in my opinion, her unwillingness to acknowledge the legitimacy of the viewpoint of others and only served to widen the gap between the Church and the general public.

THE CHURCH ATTEMPTS FURTHER REDRESSIVE ACTION

On the week before the second anniversary of the February earthquake, Rhodes, the Church's new media representative, commissioned a TV3 drone to enter the Cathedral, presumably so that the public could see the extent of the damage. The footage is very dramatic with Read unlocking the door with Matthews, Patterson and a reporter watching; the drone crashing a few times and then making its way eerily amongst the devastation and pigeon poop. The video of this exercise was screened on national television on 22 February. In an interview by Hamish Clarke with Mayor Parker, outside the Cathedral, Parker spoke of his real desire to see the controversy ended. He thought there had to be a level of deconstruction and discussed his glass design⁴⁹⁷. Thus, this was another effort by a leader to end the drama.

Also on the 22 February, perhaps reacting to what she had just seen inside the building, the bishop, in a media release from the Church, had strong words to say about the delays caused by the court cases:

*It is gutting and upsetting to see that due to the on-going legal process we are unable to retrieve treasured items from inside the Cathedral and make it safe. I am glad we deconsecrated the Cathedral as what is occurring now is an act of violence against a building and the stories and history that it contains of Canterbury and of the Christian faith*⁴⁹⁸.

Anderton's response was to accuse Matthews of 'double-speak':

When she talks about preserving the dignity of the church and treating the building with respect, what she actually means is she wants to destroy it. Since when is

⁴⁹⁷Mediaworks(website), 'Video inside the Christchurch Cathedral', <http://www.mediaworks.co.nz/Default.aspx?tabid=173&where=http://www.3news.co.nz/nznews/video-inside-the-christchurch-cathedral-> (accessed 3 July 2015).

⁴⁹⁸ Diocese of Christchurch, 22 February 2013.

*destruction dignity? The building does not have to be destroyed... If the church had been responsive to many in the community who saw a way to restore the cathedral that could have been achieved by now, without the waste of time and money involved in legal action*⁴⁹⁹.

This was the first out in the open exchange between Matthews and Anderton and is indicative of the levels of frustration both sides of the controversy were feeling. Again we see different understandings of the meanings of words and a mutual blaming for what was happening or not happening.

Gates, under a double-entendre headline, 'Church spat on sad day for city,' had Anderton saying that the bishop's statement was 'tasteless' and 'maybe is a sign that she doesn't understand the culture of Christchurch'⁵⁰⁰. This is a reference, in my opinion, to the Yardley interview questioning Matthews's reading of the city. Rhodes came to the bishop's defence with, 'The focus for today is people's lives that were lost and that is what the release says. On a day that we remember what was lost two years ago, the statement makes it clear that people are the priority'⁵⁰¹. This sidestepped the issue at the centre of the argument but did in fact reiterate one of Matthews' stances that people come before buildings. A *Press* editorial piece stated clearly that compromise was needed in deciding the Cathedral's fate and had strong words to say to both sides of the controversy. The timing of the statement was alluded to:

*Bishop Matthews' critics will regard the poorly timed issuing of the statement as confirmation of their assertion that she does not understand Christchurch and its people and is implacable in the positions she takes*⁵⁰².

The editor argued that the Cathedral was in limbo, most people wanted the conflict sorted and only the lawyers were winning:

Encouraging the parties should be the realisation that the conflict is not between Matthews and Anderton but between the Anglican Church and the people of Christchurch. It is likely that both groups want compromise - citizens certainly do - and are not fervent supporters of the two contesting personalities.

⁴⁹⁹ C. Gates, 'Church spat on sad day for city', *The Press*, 23 February 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/8341856/Church-spat-on-sad-day-for-city>, (accessed 10 June 2014).

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² *The Press*, 'Editorial', 23 February 2013, p. 8.

In this case, the editor is advocating for a way ahead and labels the controversy as being between the Anglican Church and the people of Christchurch with two contesting personalities. Further efforts to break this impasse and restore social harmony were thus being made by other people in leadership roles, in this case *The Press* editor.

MORE COURT INTERVENTION

A week later, the Church presented the Court with CERA's rejection of the GCBT engineers' 'make - safe plan', which Anderton said had been revised since it was rejected by the CPT in the previous year. Gates reported that Judge Chisholm, in a telephone conference with legal counsel, had called on protagonists in the Cathedral controversy to refrain from 'media campaigns'⁵⁰³. Chisholm called for CPT and CERA engineers to consider make-safe plans drawn up by the GCBT and for engineers from all parties to visit the Cathedral site and engage in a 'hot tubbing'⁵⁰⁴ to discuss ideas. He was critical of the lack of communication between the two parties. This is another redressive action by a person in authority seeking to break the impasse, whilst again I note the recognition of the problem of lack of mutuality between the parties. I do not know if this 'hot tubbing' occurred and if it did, I can find no record of its results. The requirement for a similar process between the various engineers was what was ordered by the Government in September 2015- what turned out to be another failed redressive action.

⁵⁰³ C. Gates, 'Judge calls for cathedral 'hot tubbing'', *The Press* 06 March 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/8390039/Judge-calls-for-cathedral-hot-tubbing>, (accessed 19 March 2014).

⁵⁰⁴ 'Hot tubbing' involves experts from the same discipline, or sometimes more than one discipline, giving evidence at the same time and in each other's presence. The experts are sworn in together, and sit in front of the judge, who puts the same questions to each expert in turn, effectively acting as 'chair' of a debate between the experts. <http://www.pannone.com/media-centre/articles/medical-negligence-articles/hot-tubbing-for-expert-witnesses#sthash.Vtqt0e1Z.dpuf>, (accessed 04 June 2015).



Figure 21: Steamed up: Cathedral ‘hot tubbing’⁵⁰⁵

According to Judge Chisholm’s judgement, the Church was required to prove that it had definite plans to build a Cathedral on the Square site, finance permitting, and to consult with the public.

CCC TRIES ANOTHER REDRESSIVE TACTIC

City Councillors made a further attempt to mend the breach by inviting Anglican leaders, the GCBT and the HPT to a council-run Earthquake Forum to ‘make deputations on the future of the cathedral’. Anderton had updated the CCC on engineers’ reports and said he would value the Church’s views on the GCBT plans. Some councillors thought that the CCC needed to have a position on the future of the Cathedral. I suggest that this is another redressive attempt by a group of city leaders to deal with the disrupted social relations, which were evident at the time. Former Dean, Councillor Beck, in calling for goodwill said:

We are distressed at the kind of debate and acrimony around this. I was the Dean for 10 years so it is very close to me and very emotional. I imagine it is quite hard on all sides to have goodwill in light of the things that have been said and done. I hope goodwill will prevail⁵⁰⁶.

Rhodes responded that the Church would value dialogue with the CCC and wider public but their court-directed process, that is plans for a cathedral and public consultation was not

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

ready at that point⁵⁰⁷. This response introduced a conciliatory note, in that the Church had previously refused to dialogue with others or consult the public.

CHURCH RELEASES PLANS AND CONSULT THE PUBLIC

A month later, in April 2013, the Church released for comment three possible designs for a new Cathedral, including projected costs and time frames.

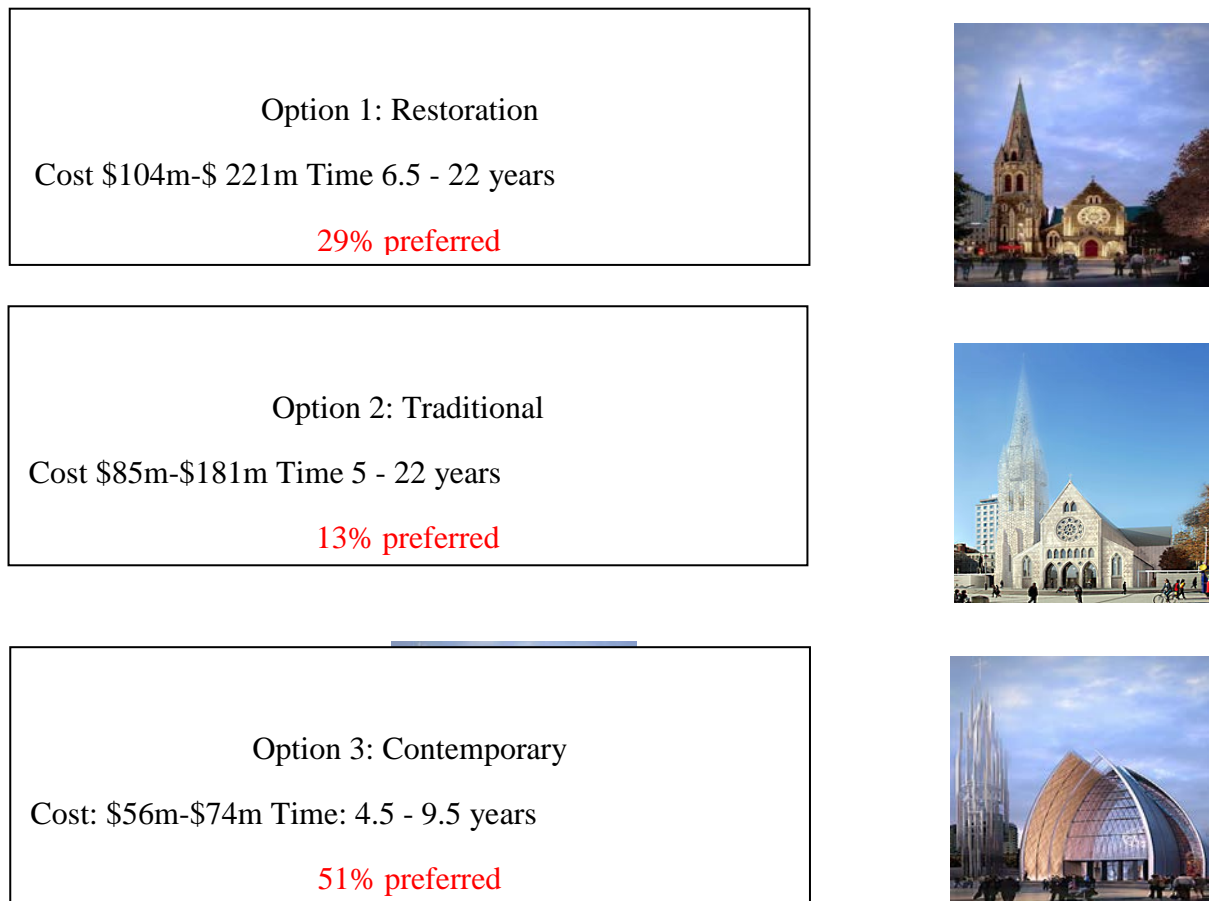


Figure 22: Three Cathedral Designs for Discussion

Immediately these options produced fierce debate. The contemporary design was likened in ‘Letters to the Editor’ to an upturned dinghy, synonymous with a sinking Church or as a woman’s private parts (this from a woman former MP)⁵⁰⁸. I also heard this interpretation lewdly repeated amongst men at a public meeting. Gates went on the street to glean opinions

⁵⁰⁷ C. Gates, ‘Councillors may weigh in to cathedral debate’, *The Press*, 05 March 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/8384006/Councillors-may-wade-into-cathedral-debate>, (accessed 10 March 2014).

⁵⁰⁸ D. Killick, ‘We must get cathedral design right’, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/perspective/8530141/We-must-get-cathedral-design-right>, (accessed 10 March 2014).

and found people from all around the world who were vocal about the need to restore the Cathedral⁵⁰⁹. *The Press* held its own on-line poll on these options. 12,000 voted, just under 40% preferring the contemporary design. The Church pointed out that unlike their own poll, people could vote as many times as they liked and there had been lobbying by protest groups to do so. Polling is a culturally specific way of gauging public opinion, in this case used as a mechanism to assist outcomes in the dispute.

The Church later reported that more than 3700 people had made submissions via their website and in writing. One of my participants was critical of this option, because it still made it appear to be a Church-controlled issue. This poll then became a point of contention, with Yardley saying it ‘smelt like a fishy PR scam’. Commenting on a show of hands at the Diocesan Synod showing preference for the contemporary option, Yardley said, ‘similarly, within days of launching its consultation campaign, the Anglican Synod rode roughshod over public opinion, hastily rubber-stamping the contemporary option’⁵¹⁰. Another bad public relations move, it would seem. Certainly it seemed that some in the media wished to keep the controversy alive and were dismissive of any redressive attempts by the Church.

Nevertheless, *The Press* arranged three meetings, attended by over 500 people, where these plans were explained to the public. I suggest that this leading newspaper was acting in a mediation role in an effort to restore social harmony. I attended the first of these public meetings which was very ably chaired by *The Press*’s editor Joanna Norris (appointed in 2012) with live on-line coverage. Matthews, Gavin Holley (CEO of CPT), Read (project manager), and Gregory (architect) all presented material and answered questions. Matthews began with prayer, then said that it was up to the people to decide what the Cathedral should become for them⁵¹¹. This sounded as if the decision had now been handed over to the public. I doubt if this was so but rather it seemed as if PR person Rhodes had been busy.

The second of these meetings was fronted by Patterson. Protesters had been planted around the room and questioning became quite rude and belligerent. In answer to a question about the possibility of a city-wide referendum, Patterson said the design most likely would not be decided by referendum nor by an expensive international competition. Belton claimed that

⁵⁰⁹ C. Gates, ‘Landslide in votes on Cathedral’, *The Press*, 06 April 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/business/the-rebuild/8511665/Landslide-in-votes-on-Cathedral> , (accessed 10 March 2014).

⁵¹⁰ M. Yardley, ‘Cathedral poll smelt like a fishy PR sham’, *The Press*, 28 May 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/8723521/Cathedral-poll-smelt-like-a-fishy-PR-sham> , (accessed 13 March 2014).

⁵¹¹ M. Greenhill and N. Mathewson, ‘Cathedral tower delay could save cash,’ *The Press*, 28 May 2013 <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/8535106/Cathedral-tower-delay-could-save-cas> (accessed 03 July 2015).

costs and times for the restoration option were wildly exaggerated and from then on the controversy appeared to focus on economics, even as the Church agreed that restoration could safely happen. At the third of these public meetings where most of the 150 present favoured restoration, Gavin Holley agreed to release the Church's costings for each option⁵¹². He later told me that the CPT actuaries had a metre high pile of papers used to reach their decisions. These attempts to meet the demand for public consultation did not achieve the hoped for resolution to the controversy.

MORE COURT INTERVENTION

In May 2013, Judge Chisholm lifted the demolition order, as the Church had demonstrated its willingness to consult the community and to build a new Cathedral. However, the GCBT did not agree with this decision and took its case to the Appeal Court and lost⁵¹³. They then appealed to the Supreme Court against findings of the Court of Appeal. This would be in keeping with Turner's contention that 'in a complex, industrial society...antagonists might move a dispute up from a court of lower jurisdiction to the supreme court through intervening judicial stages'⁵¹⁴.

The Supreme Court said circumstances giving rise to the GCBT application were of 'great general importance to the citizens of Christchurch arising from the history, function and iconic nature of the Cathedral'. However, this court could find nothing to show that previous courts were in error so dismissed the application⁵¹⁵.

Matthews said the decision was 'a relief' for the Diocese:

*We are committed to having a Cathedral in the Square in which we are able to worship within 10 years and so there are some time pressures...We respect the concern for our Christ Church Cathedral shown by GCBT. There is no question we share a deep love for the Cathedral that graced Cathedral Square for 160 years*⁵¹⁶.

⁵¹² J. Dally, 'Cathedral cost data to be released', *The Press*, 25 April 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/rebuilding-christchurch/8594089/Cathedral-cost-data-to-be-released>, (accessed 19 March 2014).

⁵¹³ L. Cairns, 'Cathedral deconstruction OK, court rules', *The Press*, 26 July 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/8968104/Cathedral-deconstruction-OK-court-rules>, (accessed 19 November 2014).

⁵¹⁴ Turner, 1974, p. 40f.

⁵¹⁵ Fairfax, 'Christ Church Cathedral free for demolition', *The Press*, 03 December 2013) <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/city-centre/9467108/Christ-Church-Cathedral-free-for-demolition>, (accessed 19 November 2014).

⁵¹⁶ Taonga News, 'Diocese free to demolish Cathedral' *Anglican Taonga*, 3 December 2013, <http://www.anglicantaonga.org.nz/News/Tikanga-Pakeha/Diocese-free-to-demolish-Cathedral> (accessed 03 August 2015).

This comment held a conciliatory note but did nothing to mend the breach that had occurred. It seemed as if the Church was free to get on with its business. This was not to be. When confronted publically with the rumour that somebody had threatened to keep the Church in the courts for ten years and bankrupt them, the bishop commented ‘I find that a strange way to live your life’⁵¹⁷. The Cathedral congregation was told that there would be more court cases as indeed occurred with the GCBT suing the CPT over the decision to use insurance monies for the TC. Heritage New Zealand is required, under their legislation, to give archaeological approval for deconstruction and they would be forced to deny it to a Category 1 building that could be restored. Then the Resource Management Act would require public consultation and the hearing of evidence. Thus, issues around the interpretation of heritage could become the deciding factor in this Controversy. I will discuss this in my conclusions.

HPT OFFERS MEDIATION

At the beginning of 2014 HPT offered to mediate a solution to the controversy in what I consider yet another mechanism to seek a resolution⁵¹⁸. *The Press* announced that this group wished to host peace talks to save the Cathedral from full demolition. Given the bishop’s announcement in March 2012 that the building would be brought down to window-sill level to be made safe, I do not know at what point the perception of this changed to full demolition. It may be another example of confusion over misinformation and the interpretation of words. The Church turned down the offer because HPT were not seen to be neutral mediators.

OTHER FAILED REDRESSIVE ATTEMPTS

Following the February earthquakes an Englishman, Hamish Ogsden⁵¹⁹, a former business partner of GCBT member Michael Norris, pledged \$4million towards the rebuilding of the Cathedral. The announcement said that there were no strings attached. In March 2014 at the invitation of the GCBT, Ogsden came to Christchurch and at a media briefing outside the CCC offices, and photographed with the Mayor present, he reiterated his pledge. He suggested the setting up a foundation to take over the restoration of the Cathedral and offered to fund an opinion poll to find out what the people of Christchurch really wanted. He went on

⁵¹⁷ P. Matthews, ‘The Anglican iron lady’, 04 April 2013.

⁵¹⁸ J. Dally, ‘Cathedral peace talks on the cards’, *The Press*, 10 January 2014, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/business/the-rebuild/9594560/Cathedral-peace-talks-on-the-cards>, (accessed 10 March 2015).

⁵¹⁹ M. Van Beynen, ‘Brit’s \$4m gift’, 08 March 2011. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/4741785/Brits-4m-gift-to-cathedral-earthquake-fund>, (accessed 06 October 2012).

to finance a Colmar Brunton Poll (see below.) Later it was revealed that there had been no invitation to, nor contact with, the bishop or Church authorities: a situation their spokesperson described as bizarre but which Anderton excused by saying the reason the Church was not contacted before the announcement was because the GCBT anticipated the "usual response and blocks".⁵²⁰

The Colman Brunton Poll of 1000 people showed a statistically significant number, including a sub-group of Anglicans, in favour of restoration. *The Press* reported:

*Co-Chairs of the Great Christchurch Buildings Trust, Jim Anderton and Philip Burdon said, 'We hope that the results of this poll will be a catalyst for the Church leadership, the Government, Minister Brownlee and CERA, together with the Mayor of Christchurch and her Council to acknowledge the strongly held views of the majority of our citizens'*⁵²¹.

When I interviewed Anderton and Burdon in June 2014 they expressed some dissatisfaction with the Court decisions and said that they were going to the 'Court of Public Opinion'. On the 22 August 2014 they launched a new campaign with aerial photos of the Cathedral, with the question 'Does this look like a wreck to you?'⁵²² With characteristic humour, the Bishop told the Synod she too would look fine if she was photographed from 500 feet up. Placards with the aerial image below appeared around the city and produced a little letter writing from some of the veteran campaigners but no significant outcry that I could detect.

⁵²⁰ G. Stylianou, 'Anglicans left out', 05 March 2014. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/9790541/Anglicans-left-out-of-cathedral-briefing>, (accessed 01 April 2015).

⁵²¹ C. Gates, 'Cathedral poll: 'people want to be heard'', *The Press*, 31 October 2014, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/10682740/Cathedral-poll-People-want-to-be-heard>, (accessed 19 March 2015).

⁵²² Radio New Zealand (website), 'Campaign to restore cathedral', *RNZ*, 22 August 2014, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/regional/252787/campaign-to-restore-cathedral>, (accessed 19 March 2015).



Figure 23: GCBT Publicity Showing Cathedral. Photo-unknown

Many people were voicing hopes for resolution of this longstanding controversy. Matthews asked people of the Diocese to pray at each mid-day for a resolution to this impasse, a practice that has continued at the TC. In my interview with the bishop in June 2014, I asked her if we were waiting for Divine intervention and she assured me that God can change hearts: ‘Whose heart?’ is the question, I would suggest. Turner has noted the use of religious rituals as a redressive mechanism in social dramas.

CHURCH AGREES TO COMPROMISE

In March 2015, *The Press* headlined, ‘Sir Miles Warren design may break four-year Christ Church Cathedral deadlock’⁵²³. Gates’s article announced that the CPT had approached Sir Miles to reconsider his plan, initially presented in March 2012. The article said that the CPT were interested in gauging public opinion on what was for them a compromise, to avoid future legal costs. Rhodes said important bodies had been consulted and at that point I became annoyed that the Cathedral congregation had never been consulted or asked for their opinion, presumably because they were not considered to be an important body. Apparently 95% of the 74 Anglicans who responded online favoured the compromise. A *Press* editorial saw the proposal as a ‘ray of hope’ and several weeks later Sir Miles and the bishop presented the plan to the CCC to gauge their opinion, with Sir Miles expressing confidence that his plan would go ahead. Burdon’s response was surprise at the announcement, because

⁵²³ C. Gates, ‘Sir Miles Warren design may break four year Christ Church Cathedral deadlock’, *The Press* 18 March 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/business/the-rebuild/67428956/Sir-Miles-Warren-design-may-break-four-year-Christ-Church-Cathedral-deadlock>, (accessed 19 May 2016),

their engineers were in confidential negotiations with the Church engineers, paid for by GCBT. Rhodes said these were to begin in June and there was no date set for a decision. Anderton meanwhile continued to say the Sir Miles design was not a compromise but required the Cathedral to be demolished which he and others were still opposing⁵²⁴. It seemed as if this was not to be the long hoped for resolution to the impasse.

In July 2015, in an informal conversation with me, a Member of Parliament reiterated Ogsden's idea of the Cathedral restoration being put under a composite group. This person said the building that had once united the city was now dividing it and this idea would free the Church to get on with its mission and circumvent all the necessary court cases. She was referred to the Diocesan Chancellor. Without knowing any further details, I suspect there was a lot of back-stage lobbying and negotiation going on. Certainly there was reported disquiet amongst business people and developers who believed the city rebuild was being held up because of the lack of clarity about the Cathedral future.

ANOTHER REDRESSIVE MECHANISM ANNOUNCED

At the major Diocesan Synod service in the TC in September 2015, the bishop made an important announcement⁵²⁵. Again, there was good staging, with Rhodes and the television cameras ready. The Church had agreed to participate with a Government appointed consultant, who would work with both CPT and GCBT engineering and actuary experts to find a way forward, as long as the Church was not financially responsible for the cost of the consultant or any outcomes. I am puzzled by what is meant by the latter condition. Anderton praised Brownlee for keeping the options open and saw this appointment as being 'very responsible'. Both sides were sworn to secrecy, though it was revealed later that the consultant was Miriam Dean, QC, from Auckland.

The eagerly anticipated results of the consultation were announced in December, 2015 in front of the Cathedral in the Square - no beautiful garden this time. Matthews and Brownlee stood together. The bishop wished everyone Happy Christmas and delivered a little homily which puzzled me but was consistent with her claim that she takes every opportunity to 'share the Gospel'. Basically the news was that the Cathedral could be restored, according to

⁵²⁴ B. Mann, 'Rebuilding Christ Church Cathedral 'is not a compromise' says Jim Anderton', *The Press*, 18 March 2015). <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/business/the-rebuild/67435755/Rebuilding-Christ-Church-Cathedral-is-not-a-compromise-says-Jim-Anderton> , (accessed 06 August 2015).

⁵²⁵ T. McClure and N. Mathewson, 'Church announces new deal for Christ Church Cathedral', *The Press*, 3 September 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/71725574/Church-announces-new-deal-for-Christ-Church-Cathedral> , (accessed 12 February 2016).

the engineers, for a price, according to the actuaries. It was then announced that there would be a working party who would report, hopefully in April, presumably before the end of CERA. Brownlee was asked about a possible Government contribution but said nothing had been decided on that. I have since heard rumoured that they are planning to contribute \$30m. That is how it remained at the completion of my five-year project, with no one satisfied but with a lot of time, money and energy expended.

Throughout 2014 and 2015 the protesters did not cease their activities. Shop 7 continued to remain open, the Wizard continued to bad-name the bishop, the protesters continued to plot, the Cathedral became more and more derelict and Dean Patterson, who was largely 'over it', died.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have utilized Turner's model of a social drama to trace the trajectory of the major dispute about the future of Christ Church Cathedral. The major actors and groups involved in the controversy were introduced in Chapter Three whilst Chapter Four, described the post-earthquake aftermath that affected relationships between many people and institutions within the city. Each of the three phases of breach, crisis and redressive actions are here detailed, along with the observation that at the completion of the project there had been no resolution of the initial breach in relationships and solution to the Cathedral dilemma, which would mark the fourth phase of resolution or schism of Turner's scenario. In my opinion, this was a satisfactory model to explain the process of what went on. However, it did not explain the underlying reasons for the controversy. These are interrogated in the next chapters, with the conclusion that this was not only a contest of power, that is with political/economic dimensions but also a contest of meaning.

Within the social field of post-earthquake Christchurch, each actor performed according to different experiences of *habitus* and varying degrees of social capital, be it political, cultural, economic or ecclesiastical. Because of these factors, each viewed the Cathedral in a different way. It symbolised different things to each person. This goes some way to explaining the dynamics of the controversy but does not fully elucidate the reasons for why the future of a cathedral would be such a controversial issue in the 21st Century. Answers to this more perplexing question will be explored in my next two chapters and conclusions. Whilst significant issues such as Matthew's leadership style, the dependence on the courts for legislation and the opinions of various experts or civic leaders are all notable, they do not, in my opinion, completely answer the question of why this is such a controversial building.

CHAPTER SIX: REMEMBERING THE LOSSES – MAKING THE ABSENT PRESENT

*Man is not an ethereal spirit living outside space or time
but a terrestrial creature with roots in a land and its history. A people is
formed by physical propinquity, a native soil and a shared history that . . .
has conferred on it an identity. . .*⁵²⁶

INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives some attention to the rituals used to address the earthquake trauma, including various memorialisation actions and events. These occasions reveal the initial place of Anglican leadership in public mourning and demonstrate the interrelationships between the Church, local and national government and the monarchy. According to Turner⁵²⁷, ‘performances of ritual are distinct phases in the social process, whereby groups adjust to internal changes and adapt to their external environment.’ Memorialisation rituals assisted the people of Christchurch, and indeed the whole nation, to come to terms with what had happened through the seismic sequence. In these ritualised events, the symbolic significance of places and of material objects is revealed. As I argue throughout this thesis, material objects, space and place are all integral components in the construction of memory, identity and wellbeing, as Lovell et al.⁵²⁸ have suggested. These are the issues at stake in the controversy about the Cathedral’s future.

For several weeks following the 22 February earthquake, there were rituals of mourning and on each anniversary since, there have been memorialization events⁵²⁹. One of the differences between the two is best understood by considering the effect of each on people’s emotions and behaviour, which differs for different people depending on personality and the depth and duration of their sense of loss. Five years on, people still shed tears at the memorial service⁵³⁰. At the 2016 event, the father of a man killed in the earthquake threw unidentified

⁵²⁶ G. Kibreab, ‘Left in Limbo’, in T. Allen (ed.) *In Search of Cool Ground: War, Flight and Homecoming in Northeast Africa*. London: James Currey, 1996, cited in Parkin, 1999.

⁵²⁷ Turner, 1967, p. 24.

⁵²⁸ N. Lovell, (ed.), *Locality and Belonging*. London: Routledge, 1998

⁵²⁹ Just as I completed this work, the Mayor announced the visit of Bruce Springsteen to Christchurch on the eve of the sixth anniversary. The significance of the date was featured, along with the fact that his lyric ‘My hometown’ was dedicated to the people of Christchurch.

⁵³⁰ M. Van Beynen, ‘The Trapped: Where are they now?’, *The Press*, 22 February 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/66380362/The-Trapped-Where-are-they-now>, (accessed 02 August 2016).

muck at Minister Brownlee in protest at what he viewed as lack of compassion for survivors⁵³¹. Below is an outline of the particular memorialisation occasions that are considered in this chapter.

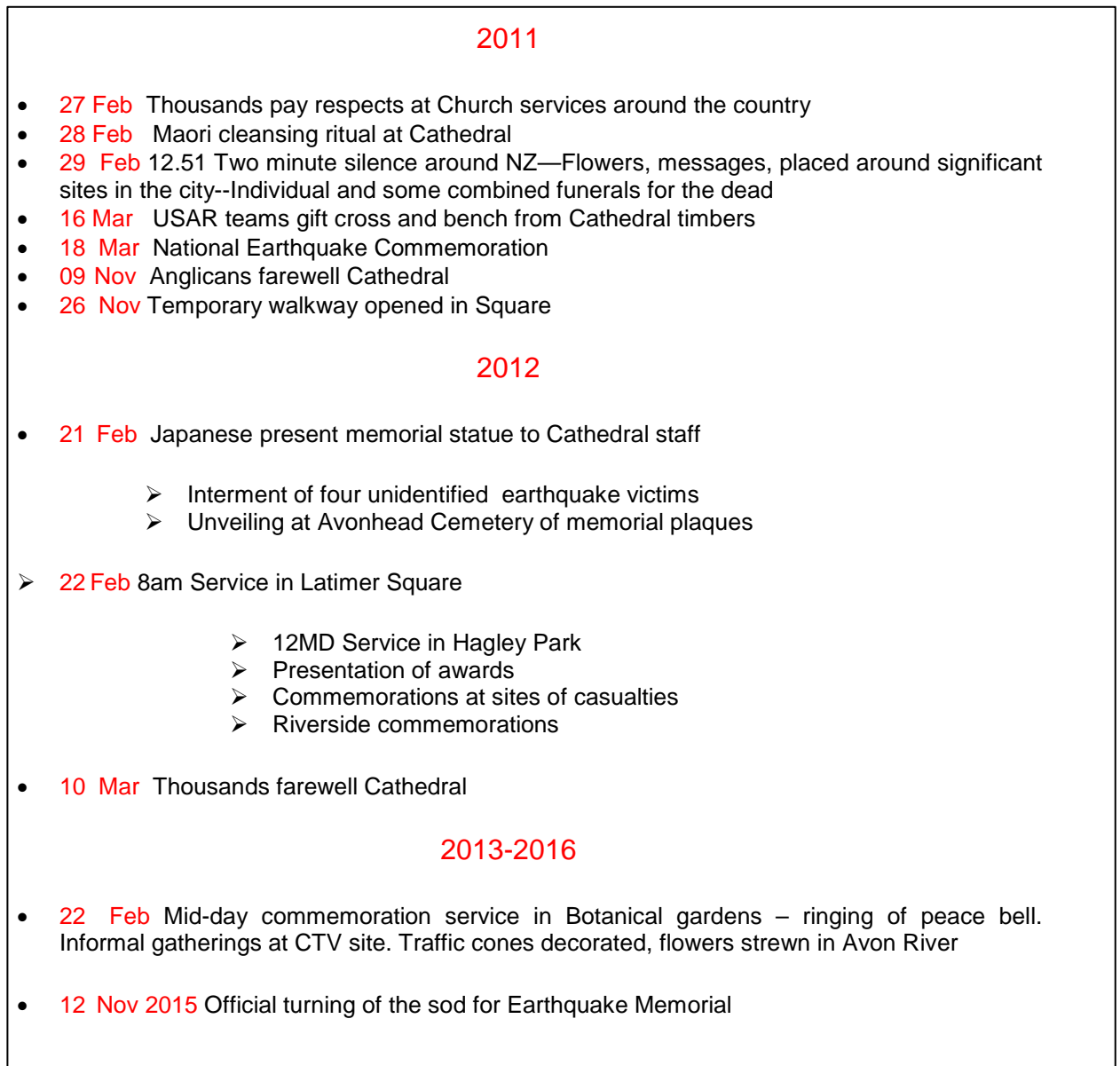


Figure 24: Rituals of Mourning and Memorialization

IMMEDIATE REMEMBERING

⁵³¹ M. Wright and D. Clarkson, 'Gerry Brownlee Protester Lost Son Jayden Andrews-Howland In Earthquake', *Stuff* (website), 23 February 2016, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/77169484/gerry-brownlee-protester-lost-son-jayden-andrewshowland-in-earthquake>, (accessed 05 September 2016).

On the day after the February 2011 earthquake, Sunday church services were held, often at outdoor venues with reports of increased attendances. The Cathedral congregation met in the rain in the Fendalton School porch and for several weeks afterwards their services were held in the staff room at that school. A number of people remember those occasions with fondness and appreciation of the human contact and the physical closeness these provided. The familiarity of the liturgy, the robed choir and the usual ‘family silver’ seemed to give a sense of comfort and normality in a strange place, during strange times. I suggest that when life is ‘dismembered’, acts of ‘remembrance’ take on new meaning. In a *Press* article about an ecumenical outdoor service at South Library, one person was reported as saying: ‘We wouldn’t go to church normally but we needed to come and share our story today. It is better than sitting alone crying and togetherness is good for the spirit’⁵³². I contend that the ritual of these church services provided a sense of community at a time of great uncertainty and ontological insecurity.

Some of the rituals were more secular. A café owner told me of how staff implored him to open his mostly undamaged suburban café a few days after this earthquake. He said that people just poured in, wanting to be with others to talk about what had happened. Around the city people shared frozen food in community barbecues or, if they had wells, supplied water to others. These rituals of meeting to share food and eat with others were significant occasions for those who told me about them. My husband was involved in several such meals and a year later I went with him to a neighbourhood ‘reunion’ of the people who had gathered in this way, this being in itself a mini-memorialisation.

Several days after the earthquake, the Maori Bishop, John Gray (now deceased), led prayers on the Cathedral site for those presumed dead inside, a ritual shown on national television. Present also were Archbishop Sir David Moxon, Bishop Victoria Matthews, Dean Peter Beck and media people. Lloyd Ashton reported:

Bishop Gray spoke of “dragging the canoe of grief and love” to the cathedral, and his team of five from Te Wai Pounamu⁵³³ used fronds of greenery to sprinkle cleansing water on the site. They prayed the prayers and sang hīmene⁵³⁴ that would be said at an Anglican Maori funeral... Maori protocol has thus been

⁵³² NZPA, ‘New Zealanders Pay Respects To Quake Victims’, *Stuff*, 27 February 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/4710307/New-Zealanders-pay-respects-to-quake-victims>, (accessed 12 April 2014).

⁵³³ *Te Wai Pounamu*: The Maori South Island Diocese.

⁵³⁴ *hīmene*: Maori song of praise or worship, <https://glosbe.com/mi/en/>, (accessed 13 July 2016).

*observed, and recovery of the dead may now proceed...The brief ceremony also recognises the role tangata whenua should play when people have died on their land.*⁵³⁵

This is an interesting example of the honouring of Maori and their understandings of *tapu*⁵³⁶ and the acknowledgement of 'their land'. In Turnerian terms, this ritual was performed to effect a change of status for the Cathedral site. The symbols of prayer, water, greenery and singing were all utilised. It was a cultural performance, particular in New Zealand to Maori belief systems, but honoured by the Anglican hierarchy.

The Prime Minister called for two minutes' silence throughout the country at 12.51pm a week after this earthquake. This occasioned another cultural performance, announced in Christchurch outside the Civil Defence Headquarters in the Christchurch Art Gallery. It was led by *tangata whenua*, *Ngāi Tahu*'s Anglican minister, Rev Maurice Gray and *Ngāi Tahu* members (as distinct from Bishop John Gray, who is *Ngāti Porou*, a North Island tribe, sometimes a cause of local contention, presumably because of ancient tribal enmities). A group comprising the PM and his wife, along with Brownlee, the Mayor and international members of rescue teams stood beside a small cairn of concrete slabs with greenery laid on them. Dean Beck, standing beside Bishop Matthews, announced the two minutes' silence. This brief ceremony, its staging and the personnel involved, all indicate to me the positioning of the Cathedral and the Anglican Church at that time. Bells tolled from churches and flags flew at half-mast throughout the country and even over Government buildings in Canberra, in a show of trans-Tasman solidarity.

⁵³⁵ L. Ashton, 'Karakia for Cathedral dead', *Anglican Taonga*, 28 February 2011, <http://anglicantaonga.org.nz/News/Common-Life/Karakia-for-cathedral-dean>, (accessed 12 May 2014).

⁵³⁶ *tapu*: considered prohibited or forbidden such as the place where death has occurred. A priest is required to 'lift the tapu' through prayers and sprinkling of water. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-MitTaki-t1-body-d1-d4-d2.html>, (accessed 15 May 2016).



Figure 25: The Christchurch Ceremony of the Two-minute Silence⁵³⁷. Photo-Aljazeera

There were also services held around New Zealand, attended by many hundreds of people, as was shown on national television. The purpose of the ritual was to remember the earthquake victims but the underlying message appeared to be ‘we are all in this together’ or as Mayor Parker was reported as saying: ‘we all stand together as one’⁵³⁸, thus implying an element of solidarity and nation building. Brown calls the ritual of the two-minute silence a ‘social technology of commemoration’, first becoming widely used in Great Britain from Armistice Day 1919. He shows that this ritual allows participants ‘to be absorbed in their own enactment of empathy and sorrow’⁵³⁹. My sister, husband and I attended one of these memorial services in Nelson, led by the Anglican Bishop of Nelson. Again, I note the role of Anglican clergy, who may be assumed to know something about conducting such rituals. With a number of other ‘earthquake refugees’, we were called forward, honoured and prayed for. Just back from the Middle East, I was displaced there because my Christchurch home was damaged, my husband, who had been inside it during the earthquake and had a bookcase fall on him, was somewhat traumatised and our access road was almost impassable. This service was an acknowledgement of these losses and a hopeful look to the unknown future.

International USAR teams were housed in tents in Latimer Square. Before they left Christchurch, the Australian team presented the city with a bench and a cross that they made

⁵³⁷ [http://www.aljazeera.com/Search/?q=two-minute silence&s=as_q&r=15&o=any&t=d](http://www.aljazeera.com/Search/?q=two-minute+silence&s=as_q&r=15&o=any&t=d) , (accessed 02 May 2013)

⁵³⁸ Newshub (website), ‘NZ Marks 2 Minutes Silence For Quake Victims’, *3 News*, 01 March 2011, [http://www.3news.co.nz/nznews/nz-marks-2-minutes-silence-for-quake-victims-2011030113 - axzz3dZHO8tVn](http://www.3news.co.nz/nznews/nz-marks-2-minutes-silence-for-quake-victims-2011030113-axzz3dZHO8tVn) , (accessed 20 June 2015).

⁵³⁹ S. Brown, ‘Social technologies: Cross-disciplinary reflections on technologies In and from the social sciences’ in *Theory & Psychology*, April 1, 2012, vol. 22, pp. 139-147, available in Sage Journals. (accessed 20 July 2016).

from salvaged timber from the Cathedral. The informal ceremony for its presentation to Beck began with a Maori greeting and ferns were placed on the bench. Lynch reported Beck as saying: ‘My heart is full of tears, tears of grief and sadness. And also tears of thanksgiving for you guys and many others who have come to our city to help us. You are amazing and thank you’. He said the bench and cross was a symbol of a new beginning and ‘rebirth of the city.’⁵⁴⁰ This cross is now used at the memorial services and also at Anzac Day services. Thus a material object has become symbolic of the sacrificial work of rescuers, linking that with the earthquake and damaged Cathedral.



Figure 26: Lasting Tribute: Reverend Peter Beck with a Cross and Bench Fashioned From Ruins of the Christ Church Cathedral⁵⁴¹. Photo: Don Scott/The Press

Three and a half weeks after the earthquake, a national memorial service was held in Hagley Park which ‘has been at the heart of Christchurch since the 1850s when it was set aside for recreation and enjoyment of Christchurch residents’⁵⁴². This comment suggests that the heart of the city had moved. This commemoration, partly organised by the Anglican Church, was led by Beck, with Matthews speaking. It was attended by tens of thousands of people, including Japan’s Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko, New Zealand’s Governor General and the Prime Minister of Australia. HRH Prince William was present with a message from

⁵⁴⁰ K. Lynch, ‘Cathedral Timber Stands Tall Again’, *The Press*, 16 March 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/4772129/Cathedral-timber-stands-tall-again>, (accessed 09 September 2016).

⁵⁴¹ <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/4772129/Cathedral-timber-stands-tall-again>, (accessed 20 September 2013).

⁵⁴² Christchurch City Council (website), ‘Hagley Park’, <https://www.ccc.govt.nz/parks-and-gardens/explore-parks/hagley-park/>, (accessed 20 July 2016).

his grandmother, Queen Elizabeth II. He repeated her sentiment that ‘grief is the price we pay for love.’ The Prince’s presence could seem a reaffirmation of the city’s colonial ties, with the sovereign’s representative coming to inspect and console the natives. However, the strong Maori component present could point to a different future, as envisaged later by Katie Pickles’ suggestion that the earthquake provided an opportunity to break with the city’s colonial past⁵⁴³.

On my way walking to Hagley Park, I met the leader of a large inner-city church, who told me that he would not be attending as he was disturbed by the apparent Anglican takeover. I heard later that the Church was looked to for leadership by civil authorities for that and for subsequent ceremonies, ‘because they know how to manage such occasions’. It also points to their role as ‘chaplains to the city’. This particular minister was also concerned about the appropriateness of such an occasion at such a time. Others had voiced similar opinions about the timing of the event so soon after the earthquake, whilst there were still numerous aftershocks and unidentified bodies in the mortuary. However, just prior to the service broadcast, the senior Anglican Archbishop of New Zealand, the Rt. Rev Sir David Moxon was interviewed on Radio New Zealand and he said this was a ceremony for ‘solidarity, comfort and lament.’ He suggested that after a sudden and unexpected death, no time is the ‘right time’ to come together in grief, but this was an opportunity for the whole community to gather, with people throughout New Zealand viewing proceedings in sympathetic participation ⁵⁴⁸. I would argue that from the beginning, the occasion was constructed as a funeral.

⁵⁴³ K. Pickles, ‘A Natural Break From Our Colonial Past’, *The Press*, 08 April 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/4863323/A-natural-break-from-our-colonial-past>, (accessed 15 May 2011).



Figure 27: Matthews and Beck at National Earthquake Memorial Service. Photo-Taonga News

This was indeed a grand performance of collective grief, or as Moxon suggested, a lament⁵⁴⁴. At that time, most people in the city were in a state of ambiguity or disorientation, shocked by the losses and very uncertain about the future. There was an air of liminality, 'betwixt and between'. This was a ceremony of mourning the huge losses, human and material and like many modern funerals, was a mix of religious and secular symbolism. Photographs of previously unseen views of the earthquake-devastated city were showing on the huge overhead screens as people gathered, many wearing the Canterbury colours of red and black. This gesture, it seemed to me, was like having the body and coffin present. When the international USAR teams arrived, those gathered burst into spontaneous applause. A flag flew at half-mast over the stage, which was covered in massed lilies and with a huge brazier, which was later ceremonially lit. The observance opened with a conch shell call; a greeting and welcome in *Te Reo* by a *Ngāi Tahu* elder; laying of wreaths; presentation of a Maori cloak to Prince William; predictable Bible readings such as the passage, 'For everything there is a time and a season' (Ecclesiastes 3.1); the 'right' songs such as *Amazing Grace* and *How Great Thou Art* which are often sung at New Zealand funerals and here were sung by prominent national performers; the uniformed Army band playing; the massed choir and the robed Cathedral choristers singing; the two - minute silence; and prayers led by an inter-faith group. I sensed a spirit of '*communitas*' pervading the occasion. Or as Van Beynen⁵⁴⁵ put it,

⁵⁴⁴ R. Quinn, 'National Christchurch Memorial Service – Archbishop David Moxon', *Radio New Zealand*, 18 March 2011, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/collections/christchurchmemorial>, (accessed 28 June 2012).

⁵⁴⁵ M. Van Beynen, M., 'Christchurch earthquake memorial: Day to grieve, comfort', *The Press*, 19 March 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/4786784/Christchurch-earthquake-memorial-Day-to-grieve-comfort>, (accessed 09 September 2016).

there were a number of poignant and memorable moments including the two-minute silence when only the wind in the trees and the gentle humming of the generators could be heard.

Everyone was there in their own right, either as a survivor of a traumatic event or to offer sympathy and help, so that all were bound tighter in their vulnerability and common humanity. Churches were asked to nominate people to watch out in the crowd for those who might be in need of pastoral support. There did not seem to be a need for this because people were simply supporting one another. According to Alexander, following Turner:

*Communitas is the response to the 'existential deprivation' of social-structural differentiation and represents 'the desire for a total, unmediated relationship between person and person...in the very act of realising their commonness' as well as the recognition of individuals 'as equal in terms of shared humanity.'*⁵⁴⁶

Edith Turner has pointed out, using the examples of the Great Floods of Dakota and Hurricane Katrina, that *communitas* can bind people together in times of disaster. She writes:

*The communitas of disaster, exists, in a sense, underground sometimes simply as the tender sympathetic moments between sufferer and comforter. It also develops in full strength in an environment sheltered by the hope and love between the members of a badly shaken community.*⁵⁴⁷

The theme of shared humanity was a feature of the various speeches, particularly in Beck's call for a two-minute silence.

However, one observer, an Anglican priest, noted a general exodus and chatting when the religious parts of the ceremony were occurring, something that he witnesses in modern funerals. He was critical of the distancing of God from nature as in Beck's earlier statement, 'this is not an act of God. It is the earth doing what the earth does,'⁵⁴⁸ because, according to him, many New Zealanders would claim their most spiritual or religious experiences to be in the bush or mountains, sea or garden. This accords with the Sunderland and Denny findings that: 'the most important aspects of New Zealandness were our relationship with the land. New Zealanders' sense of self-definition is heavily bound up with love of the natural

⁵⁴⁶ B. Alexander, *Victor Turner revisited*, Atlanta, GA, Scholars Press, 1991, p. 36.

⁵⁴⁷ E. Turner, *Communitas. The Anthropology of Collective Joy*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 72.

⁵⁴⁸ South Canterbury NZ Webgen project, quoted in 'The Canterbury Spirit-2', http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nzlscant/spirits_rise.htm, (accessed 25 June 2015).

environment’⁵⁴⁹. This relationship with the land was severely tested during and following the earthquake, challenging people’s sense of trusting and wellbeing, their ontological security.

Towards the end of the memorial ceremony, a helicopter dragging a banner with the caption ‘Rise Up Christchurch’ flew over the crowd. This slogan, with the Maori ‘*Kia Kaha*’ (Be strong) and the British government’s 1939 wartime promotional ‘Keep calm and carry on’⁵⁵⁰, became morale boosting catch-cries in those post-earthquake days. Symbolically they captured the desire for resilience and strength. Journalist Van Beynen summed it up:

*A day to grieve and pay respect. A day to give thanks and seek comfort. A day to celebrate resilience and take strength for the future. A day to bring races, creeds and citizens together. A day to move on.*⁵⁵¹

FIRST YEAR COMMEMORATIONS AND OTHER MEMORIALISATIONS

The first year commemoration of the February earthquake was well orchestrated by the civic authorities and consisted of five major events. As part of a summer research scholarship, I attended two of the planning meetings for these events and was impressed by the degree of organisational skill demonstrated, as well as the deference given to Matthews, Beck and the Anglican Police Chaplain Mark Barlow, who led the major commemoration. There were five separate official events to mark the anniversary.

1. On the day before the anniversary there was the private ceremony, led by Matthews, for the interment, in a single casket, of the unidentified remains of four earthquake victims, in a permanent interment site at Avonhead Cemetery.
2. In the evening, at this site, a gravestone was ‘unveiled’⁵⁵² by the Mayor Bob Parker. Kurt Bayer reported:

Hundreds gathered at the cemetery for the unveiling tonight, including Prime Minister John Key, Governor-General Sir Jerry Mateparae, high-ranking police officers, and foreign dignitaries...The central feature is a striking memorial, intended as a gift from the city, which includes six granite plaques featuring words, repeated in English, Filipino, Maori, Russian, Spanish and

⁵⁴⁹ J. Clifton, ‘Choice, Bro,’ 2010, <http://www.listener.co.nz/commentary/choice-bro/>, p. 14 (accessed 10 September 2014).

⁵⁵⁰ R. Lewis, ‘The Planning, Design And Reception Of British Home Front Propaganda Posters Of The Second World War’, Sussex University Undergraduate Thesis: [http://drbexl.co.uk/1997/07/11/undergraduate-dissertation-1997/written April 1997](http://drbexl.co.uk/1997/07/11/undergraduate-dissertation-1997/written%20April%201997), (accessed 23 July 2016).

⁵⁵¹ M. Van Beynen, ‘Christchurch earthquake memorial: Day to grieve, comfort’, *The Press*, 19 March 2011, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/4786784/Christchurch-earthquake-memorial-Day-to-grieve-comfort>, (accessed 09 September 2016).

⁵⁵² Unveiling or *kura Kohatu* is a traditional practice of remembrance about a year after a death.

Braille, saying: 'Etched in our City's memory, never to be forgotten. The City of Christchurch' ⁵⁵³

I note the use of the materiality of stone for memorialisation, as the same practice is obvious in the Cathedral fabric. In her address, Matthews said that the memorial plinth would 'point us to the future' and 'comfort us in our sorrows'. This acknowledgment of the symbolic role of a material object is noteworthy, because of her later seeming unwillingness to recognise the symbolic values of the Cathedral with statements such as 'the more we learn to live the Christian life, the more the unchurched population will understand we are not a museum or heritage society' ⁵⁵⁴.

3. The first commemoration on 22 February 2012 was an 8am service in Latimer Square. At the planning meeting there was an intriguing discussion about this service, because political protocols such as the Prime Minister speaking before the Leader of the Opposition clashed with Anglican protocols, where the guest of honour speaks last. In the end it was left up to the Bishop, so the service was very 'Anglican', although with some interfaith prayers.

The venue was highly symbolic. Latimer Square is opposite the site of the CTV building where many had died. It was the major triage centre immediately after the earthquake. In his address, PM Key said there that he recalled coming to Latimer Square in the hours after the quake, 'when dust and smoke was thick in the air, there were fires, people huddling together under blankets and aftershocks continuously rattled the city' ⁵⁵⁵. He said the scenes would remain in his memory for the rest of his life. An Anglican priest I spoke with at this service told me of being at St John's Church opposite (later demolished and now where the TC is built), when the earthquake struck. He seemed to become immersed in the horror of it as he spoke. This, then, is an example of how a particular landscape is linked to emotion and memory of an event and how that helps to shape post-earthquake identities. This 8am service, Anglican and Christian, although open to the public, with many dignitaries

⁵⁵³ K. Bayer, 'Christchurch begins grim memorial', *NZ Herald*, 21 February 2012, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10787083, (accessed 08 July 2015).

⁵⁵⁴ Easter 2012 - Message to the Diocese.

⁵⁵⁵ Stuff (website), 'Christchurch Quake Anniversary: Live Updates', *The Press*, 22 February 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/6458083/Christchurch-quake-anniversary-live-updates>, (accessed 08 July 2015).

present, along with a huge contingent of overseas media people, was essentially for the families and friends of the bereaved. Families, many from Japan, were escorted onto Latimer Square and sat in a marked off area. Later they were escorted to the CTV and PGG sites where many had died and to Cathedral Square, before going on to the large public ceremony. A small private ceremony was held also in Cashel Street Mall for the families of people who had died there. The significance and importance of place and the events, people and memories attached to actual places is here highlighted, following Bender et al. who have shown through a series of case studies that: 'Landscapes contain the traces of past activities, and people select the stories they tell, the memories and histories they evoke, the interpretative narratives that they weave, to further their activities in the present-future' ⁵⁵⁶. This will be further demonstrated below when I consider spontaneous shrines.

4. The major memorial event started at 12 midday, again in Hagley Park. The ceremony had many of the same features as that of March 3, 2011. This included a two-minute silence at the exact time of the earthquake. The rest of New Zealand was connected by live television and radio coverage and so was invited to join this silent commemoration. When to play a video from Hilary Clinton, USA Secretary of State was an issue which caused debate in the planning meeting. The CCC wanted it played within the service; the Church representatives disagreed, saying it was inappropriate in such a context; someone else suggested it come before the beginning of the service; *tangata whenua* disagreed, saying people needed to be greeted first; others wondered what the Japanese would think about a Clinton message on such an occasion. Again this illustrated the different protocols being contested and how even international politics can play a part in such an event. I was later told of a protest walk-out in an office gathering watching the service broadcast live on television, because of the inappropriateness of what was construed as a political message on such an occasion. Another planning issue was the sung blessing, which had been suggested by the music organiser. It was an Irish blessing, said to be suitable because an Irish person had been killed:

⁵⁵⁶ Bender et al., 2001, p. 4.

*May the road rise to meet you, May the wind be at your back
May the sun shine warm upon your land. May the rain fall soft upon your face
until we meet again, May God hold you in the palm of his hand*⁵⁵⁷.

Questions were asked about its appropriateness before tension was alleviated in the discussion with the police chaplain commenting, 'The problem is the road did rise to meet us'. I mention these incidents because they reveal the difficulties in planning a one-off ritual occasion, with a mixture of religious and secular elements and with little precedence. In this commemoration I detected quite a different emphasis and 'feel' from the immediate post-earthquake one and although sad and very poignant, the theme was one of hopefulness and challenge for all that lay ahead. Like the unveiling of a headstone, a ritual in New Zealand usually about a year after a funeral, this ceremony signalled a distinct move away from grief towards the future.

5. The major one and a half-hour commemoration was followed by an award ceremony for 140 groups or individuals who received recognition for bravery or particular acts of charity. I noticed a distinct personal and corporate weariness in what seemed like quite a long drawn-out process, with people leaving once their family member had been honoured. In retrospect it was not a good idea to tack this on to a long and arduous day but showed a desire to honour particular people and groups.

Besides these five events other rituals occurred. People gathered at various spots along the Avon River and threw flowers into the river and /or placed tags on nearby trees with their written hopes for the future of the city. Others decorated with flowers some of the numerous traffic cones around the city. These two activities have continued at each anniversary, even within the University grounds.

⁵⁵⁷lords-prayer-words.co.(website), 'May The Road Rise To Meet You', http://www.lords-prayer-words.com/famous_prayers/may_the_road_rise_up_to_meet_you.html, (accessed 04 April 2014).



Figure 28: A Decorated Road-cone on the Earthquake Anniversary. Photo-nk⁵⁵⁸

Road-cones have become not only a symbol of post-earthquake disruption but decorated with flowers they say something of the city's resilience as well as its losses. The flowers in the river and road-cone rituals were featured in 2016 in a Canterbury Museum interactive display called 'Bloom'. Thus a spontaneous action has been cemented in as a city tradition, assisted by artistic materialization.

Each year there has been a public earthquake commemoration ceremony in the Botanical Gardens at midday. At the 2016 commemoration, the Mayor announced that it would be the last organised by the City Council at that venue because, in 2017, it would be in the hands of the 'Bereaved Families' group at the proposed Earthquake Memorial Wall on the banks of the Avon River. Although the new Dean of Christchurch, Lawrence Kimberley read a Biblical passage at the 2016 commemoration, I was intrigued that this ceremony was conducted by the leader of the 'farmy army', a group of Canterbury farmers who provided very practical support to people post-earthquake. This would indicate to me that the Anglican Church's place in the city has shifted.

⁵⁵⁸ 2. bp.blogspot, 'flowers in cones', <http://2.bp.blogspot.com/-WP4pZaPbJ4s/T0QB1hI9rCI/AAAAAAAAAsjY/A8NS2sGqWt4/s1600/Flowers+in+cones+-+Chch+Feb+12.jpg>, (accessed 09 September 2016).

After the public memorial services in 2012, a Japanese student rang the World Peace Bell⁵⁵⁹ that was installed in the Botanical Gardens in 2006. This young woman had been out to lunch when a number of her language school colleagues were killed in the CTV building. The eerie sound of this bell ringing has become part of the performance of memorialising continued each year. Sound is also a significant factor in prompting memory as Bijsterveld and van Dijck⁵⁶⁰ have indicated.

On this first anniversary, the Japanese Consulate presented Cathedral staff with a memorial statue, which now resides in the TC foyer. I have noticed Japanese tourists in particular pausing by it, whilst occasionally mementos are left on it in the same way that cemetery graves may be decorated. On anniversaries of the February earthquake, this statue is moved into a central place in the Japanese-inspired Cathedral. Thus, in ways that would have been unthinkable 70 years ago, Christchurch has become emotionally linked with Japan and both have recorded their commitment to peace.

Santino outlines the increasingly contemporary practice of creating ‘spontaneous shrines’ such as roadside crosses after untimely death⁵⁶¹. An example of this is local artist Pete Majendie’s 185 chairs of many different kinds, painted in white and installed for eight months at the site of the demolished Oxford Terrace Baptist Church. They were then moved to the site of the former Trinity Pacific Presbyterian Church, behind the TC, where they remain five years later. They are often repainted by volunteers and are now a pilgrimage site, as these empty chairs have become a simple but poignant symbol of loss. They are a comment on the magnitude and heterogeneity of the death toll. The materiality of the chairs, each one different and including a baby’s car seat, produce a particular effect. For instance, when I see the baby’s chair there, I think about the little one who was killed at home from a falling television set and even as I write this, participate in the horror of that moment. Then I

⁵⁵⁹ The World Peace Bell had been gifted to the people of Christchurch in 2004 by the World Peace Bell Association president, Mr Tomijiro Yoshida. Similar in shape and size to the massive temple bells seen throughout Japan, it is a replica of the World Peace Bell at the United Nations headquarters in New York. And like the original, the New Zealand World Peace Bell has been cast from the coins of United Nations member countries. The World Peace Bell had been gifted to the people of Christchurch in 2004 by the World Peace Bell Association president, Mr Tomijiro Yoshida. Similar in shape and size to the massive temple bells seen throughout Japan, it is a replica of the World Peace Bell at the United Nations headquarters in New York. And like the original, the New Zealand World Peace Bell has been cast from the coins of United Nations member countries. <https://ccdu.govt.nz/projects-and-precincts/the-earthquake-memorial>, (accessed 08 August 2015).

⁵⁶⁰ K. Bijsterveld and J. van Dijck (eds.), *Sound Souvenirs*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2019.

⁵⁶¹ J. Santino, ‘Performative Commemoratives: Spontaneous Shrines and the Public Memorialization of Death’, in J. Santino (ed.), *Spontaneous Shrines and the Public Memorialization of Death*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 5–15.

think of my hospital chaplain friend's role in comforting the family when they arrived at the hospital with their dead baby. As a *Press* editorial expressed it:

*Majendie's chairs were always a work of art...The chairs became a de facto memorial because people needed to have somewhere to go and something to look upon to reflect. They were and are a lightning rod for collective grief and emotion, and a powerful way to represent people until such time as a more permanent memorial could be conceived and constructed*⁵⁶².



Figure 29: Peter Majendie's Chair Memorial⁵⁶³. Photo-sarahjohn

I detail these matters because I am arguing in this thesis that material objects have the power to evoke strong feelings and to elicit memories of people and events. As Connerton suggests, (see below) memories are always produced in a social context. As I explain later, the absent can be made present through artefacts which hold particular memories.

Another shrine is sited diagonally opposite the painted chairs and opposite the TC. This is the CTV building site where 115 people lost their lives and where, after some public protest about its unkempt appearance, the land has been levelled out with footpaths and grass and tastefully fenced. It is said that nothing will ever be built over it. I have noticed small memorial ceremonies occurring there and often flowers or notes are left on a trellis.

⁵⁶² Stuff (website), 'Editorial: Most important for quake memorial is the names', *The Press*, 14 May 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/68530458/editorial-most-important-for-quake-memorial-is-the-names>, (accessed 05 September 2016).

⁵⁶³ <https://sarahjhn.wordpress.com> -3456 x 2304 DSC08865 (accessed 04 September 2016)

In 2014 the Christchurch Central Development Unit of the CCC called for design ideas for a permanent Canterbury Earthquake Memorial. They received 339 submissions; half of which were from 37 countries around the world. A named evaluation panel of external experts shortlisted six of the designs, presented them to families of the bereaved, the injured and various stakeholders. Then the public was invited to state their preference. The chosen design is a memorial wall along the banks of the Avon River, designed by Slovenian architect, Grega Vezjak.

The sod for this memorial was turned at a ceremony at the Avon River site which I viewed on the CCC website⁵⁶⁴. I would argue that this ceremony or ritual heralds a new spirit within the city, perhaps what Pickles calls a ‘breaking with the colonial past’⁵⁶⁵. The ceremony began with Whata Moataane, *iwi*⁵⁶⁶ communications advisor for *Ngāi Tahu* welcoming the group in *Te Teo*, saying *karakia*⁵⁶⁷, followed by *waiata*⁵⁶⁸ as is Maori custom. John Ombler, acting CEO of CERA, greeted people in fluent *Te Reo*; stated that the importance of the occasion was reflected in those present; then introduced the guests, Earthquake Recovery Ministers Brownlee and Wagner, representatives of families of the bereaved and speakers, Prime Minister John Key, Mayor Leanne Dalziel and Sir Mark Solomon, *Kaiwhakahaere*⁵⁶⁹ of *Te Rūnanga*⁵⁷⁰ o *Ngāi Tahu*. Each greeted the assembled people in *Te Reo*. Dalziel stressed the partnership between Crown, Council and *Ngāi Tahu*, whilst Sir Mark spoke of the importance of *Otakaro* (the Avon River) for generations of his people. During the *waiata* following his speech, the heavens opened and the rain fell, a very auspicious sign for Maori. Ombler suggested this was deeply symbolic, whilst someone said it was ‘the *atua* (spirits) looking after us - the tears of the ancestors’. I note what seemed like the complete absence of representatives of ‘the Establishment’ or of the Anglican Church and suggest this as evidence

⁵⁶⁴ Christchurch City Development Unit (website), ‘The earthquake memorial’, (video), <https://ccdu.govt.nz/projects-and-precincts/the-earthquake-memorial/gallery>, (accessed 12 March 2016).

⁵⁶⁵ Pickles, 08 April 2011.

⁵⁶⁶ *Iwi*: extended kinship group, tribe <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?&keywords=iwi>, (accessed 07 September 2016).

⁵⁶⁷ *Karakia*: incantation, ritual chant, prayer, <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/word/2275>, (accessed 07 September 2016).

⁵⁶⁸ *Waiata*: song, chant, psalm, <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/word/9026>, (accessed 07 September 2016).

⁵⁶⁹ *Kaiwhakahaere*: director, supervisor, manager, <http://kupu.maori.nz/kupu/kaiwhakahaere>, (accessed 07 September 2016).

⁵⁷⁰ *Runanga*: Tribal council or assembly, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/glossary#3>, (accessed 07 September 2016).

of the changing social field of the city. The difference in the presentation of the turning of the sod of the TC was considerable, apart from the actual turning of the soil with a spade.

Whilst the loss of human life has been significant and the material losses have been great, there has also been a loss of cultural heritage, which has ongoing social effects. Tierney and Oliver-Smith define cultural heritage as:

*constituted in objects, resources, and practices that locate communities in the world, giving them a sense of identity through time. The relationship between people and place is encoded in objects, culturally constructed places, and historically derived cultural practices. Places where events of historical or sacred importance have occurred; objects such as shrines, cemeteries, or ancient ruins that express local identity; and resources such as rivers, springs, lakes, forests, and mountains not only provide material sustenance, but also express and nurture the spiritual life of the community*⁵⁷¹.

Without doubt Christ Church Cathedral was an integral part of the cultural heritage of Christchurch, assisting the community toward a sense of local identity. It was the site of such culturally constructed practices as the 'Garden City' Floral Festival; a huge Christmas tree under which families left gifts for children in need; midnight mass on Christmas Eve; a gathering place after such events as the death of Princess Diana and the 9/11 attack. It was indeed an expression of the spiritual life of Christchurch, its heart and soul. I have shown above how post-earthquake, people and place have been encoded in different ways through new sites, rituals and material objects such as the empty chairs, road cones and a peace bell. Another object, the TC, has entered the field, constructing, in its own way, new relationships and identity.

I was interested to know which things would be considered as 'transitional objects' (see Winnicott⁵⁷²) that is, which would be taken by the Cathedral authorities into this new place of worship as comforting reminders of the past. Parkin has made the case for humans being 'enmeshed in social trails created by the movement of objects...those to which people attach themselves.' He claims that such objects may assist in the re-establishment, or redefinition, of personal and collective origins⁵⁷³. When I first asked what artefacts from the old Cathedral might go into the TC, I was told they would be minimal, as dictated by the architect. 'Perhaps there would be some stone from the old building for people to walk over as they go into the

⁵⁷¹ Tierney and Oliver Smith, *Social dimensions*, 2012, p. 137.

⁵⁷² D. Winnicott and J. Hardenberg (eds.), *The Child, the Family and the Outside World*, London, Tavistock, 1957.

⁵⁷³ Parkin, 1999.

new'. A person on one of the decision-making committees told me that she had argued strongly to have a few of the chairs from the previous Cathedral brought into the new but that has not happened. In my opinion it would have been helpful to have a few of these chairs in the attached container that is called the 'Memorial Chapel', where the retrieved altar and a stool from the Cathedral's Pacific Chapel have been placed and where a retrieved icon, that is a wooden devotional religious painting, is displayed. This apparent lack of appreciation of people's attachment to material objects, even chairs, is one of the features revealed in my research. Five years on, I was told of some congregation members being upset because new staff had replaced, with a different one, the large Bible which was carried in procession each Sunday morning service. 'That Bible was in the old Cathedral and has travelled with us to Fendalton School, Christ's College and now here. It is very important to us', was what I was told. Also removed was a retrieved brass cross that sat on the altar. 'That Cross was very important to me', said one friend who disclosed a very significant event in her life when sitting praying before that cross, pre-earthquake. These reactions reiterate for me the substantial importance of understanding materiality as it is enmeshed in individual and corporate faith journeys.

However, a feature of the TC is the Trinity window, which comprises forty-nine panels and is designed to echo Christ Church Cathedral's rose window. Ban's colleague and project architect, Yoshie Narimatsu, was reported as saying: 'we wanted some connection to the original cathedral. Each image comes from the exact same position as on the original' ⁵⁷⁴. In the same article Dixon said the new window design was a metaphor:

*It is fascinating that the design is a fractured image that has some powerful things to say about the state of the cathedral and the city at the moment. These broken, fractured images come together in a new and visually beautiful way that shows the way ahead. We have the old and the new together*⁵⁷⁵.

Whilst images of the Cathedral's rose window have appeared in many different guises such as jewellery, tattoos, banners, I was told that the Trinity window images are subject to copyright and cannot be used for commercial purposes without acknowledgement. Nevertheless, I notice this Trinity window is starting to appear in places such as advertising on *The Press* newsstand.

⁵⁷⁴ C. Gates, 'Images from Cathedral in Design', *The Press*, 20 October 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch-earthquake-2011/7841595/Images-from-cathedral-in-design>, (accessed 06 June 2015).

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

An artefact which for me has acted as a transitional object is the eagle lectern, although I would have to agree with Mane-Wheoki, who suggested that the proud eagle lectern looked too grand in its transitional quarters, which ‘in the end is a glorified parish church’. Further, he said the eagle ‘was longing to be back in the cathedral...it did look a little homesick’ ⁵⁷⁶. The article said that Mane-Wheoki doubted whether the eagle will be much happier in a new cathedral that follows the Anglicans' preferred design. Thus a material object is used in this case to articulate an opinion about what should happen to the Cathedral itself. Other items from the damaged Cathedral have found their way into the new building. These are predominantly liturgical items, such as the Holy Communion vessels, crosses, banners, vestments, altar cloths as well as the liturgy itself. All construct a sense of continuity with the past in a new situation and place.

CONCLUSION

By recounting instances of the memorialisation of the earthquake and their significance, I have demonstrated how places and things can become part of a population's cultural heritage and memory. Connerton has demonstrated the importance of such actions in the ongoing social life of a community, in part because of their formalism and performativity ⁵⁷⁷. I suggest that, in the not too distant future, the 2010/2011 earthquakes will be remembered at 12.51pm on 22 February on the banks of Otakaro and the stories around what happened, even including the row about the Cathedral's future, will be part of the city's mythology. To what extent that replaces the colonial founding myth remains to be seen. In the next chapter I tell some of the stories of retrieval of these artefacts and their significance to the congregation as part of my analysis of the agency accorded to material objects.

⁵⁷⁶ Focamp, 2014.

⁵⁷⁷ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 1989.

CHAPTER SEVEN – THINGS PROVIDE AN ANSWER

*Our taonga are not just wooden objects or aesthetic heirlooms, they speak and represent our origins, our beliefs, our very foundation on which we order our lives. We believe that our taonga possess a life force and wairua, spirit, all of their own*⁵⁷⁸.

INTRODUCTION

On my return to New Zealand following the February 2011 earthquake, one of my daughters articulated what had been on my mind. ‘Mum, I know it is a silly thing to be worried about, but I can’t help wondering what’s happened to Dad’s chair!’ Our family had donated to the Cathedral the chair that carried a brass plaque with the name G. Peter S. Allan, our husband and father, who had died five years earlier. Why does this particular chair matter? It was ‘only’ a chair, one of around 350, but it was ‘Dad’s chair’, even though he had never owned it and probably not even sat in it. But in Maussian terms, there was ‘*hau*’ in that gift ⁵⁷⁹.

Miller ⁵⁸⁰, drawing on Bourdieu ⁵⁸¹ and Appadurai ⁵⁸², maintains that ‘things matter’. Along with Henare et al.,⁵⁸³ he also argues for a more heuristic approach to seeking answers to the reasons why this is so. This is one of the main purposes of this thesis. I have discovered, when considering the earthquake and its effects, that people may define and understand themselves through things or the absence of particular things. This chapter demonstrates the relationships, the interconnections between people, past and present and ‘things’, be they as mundane as a chair or as exotic as a bishop’s stone effigy or a wooden cross, rescued from ‘Flanders’ fields’. ‘Even chairs that people sit in, that, to me is that embodiment of the tangible and the intangible and all is one’⁵⁸⁴, said a research participant. Or, as Law puts it, ‘materiality cannot be prized apart from the enactment of relations or, more generally, the practices that do these relations’⁵⁸⁵.

⁵⁷⁸ A. Hakiwai, in Cultural Conservation Advisory Council 1990, p. 116, quoted in A. Henare et al.(eds.), *Thinking through things. Theorising artefacts ethnographically*, Milton Park, Abingdon, UK Routledge, 2007.

⁵⁷⁹ M. Mauss, *The gift*, 1971.

⁵⁸⁰ D. Miller, (ed.), *Material Cultures. Why Some Things Matter*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1998.

⁵⁸¹ P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a theory of practice*, 1977.

⁵⁸² Appadurai, ‘*The social life of things*’, 1986.

⁵⁸³ A. Henare et al.(eds.), *Thinking through things*, 2007.

⁵⁸⁴ J. May, interviewed by PA, 30 July 2012.

⁵⁸⁵ J. Law, ‘The Materials of STS’, in D. Hicks and M. Beaudry (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, Oxford, UK., Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 173.

Many of the stories that I was told linked the recounter with a personal memory of an artefact, other people and a particular performance; many contained a sense of loss or absence. For instance, one older woman recalled that as a child her grandmother took her each year to place a gift under the Cathedral's Christmas tree. She reminisced whimsically, 'and I used to do that with my own grand-children'. A fellow student told me he didn't care what happened to the Cathedral. He then began to recall being taken, as a child, into the building each Christmas Eve, then later doing the same with his own children. With some puzzlement he muttered, 'I suppose I do care'. Another person, whose father, a radio announcer, was killed overseas when she was very young, recounted believing that she might hear her Dad making an announcement from the building's sound system because somehow, as a little child, she thought he was in the black box on the ceiling. Thus attachment to the building can be the result of experiences, enhanced by memories of specific people and linked with a person's subjectivity and sense of themselves.

In this chapter I describe the artefacts that were in the Cathedral pre-earthquake, noting what was destroyed, what was salvaged and what remains in the ruins. From my research data, I establish the kinds of attachments people formed to these objects. These will be amplified in several mini case studies of particular artefacts.

CATHEDRAL CONTENTS

In Chapter One I described a 2004 inventory of everything in the Cathedral. This 'Terrier' included objects such as office furniture and supplies, sound and heating systems, six jars of nails and screws, assorted timber and mats, cleaning equipment and kitchen utensils. Noting the difference between commodities and artefacts, which Appadurai⁵⁸⁶ describes, I decided to consider only what could arguably be called an artefact, keeping in mind Appadurai's observation:

*It is true that in most stable societies, it would be possible to discover a taxonomic structure that defined the world of things, lumping some things together, discriminating between others, attaching meaning and values to these groupings and providing a basis for rules and practices governing the circulation of these objects*⁵⁸⁷.

Anthropologists, from Malinowski onwards, have sought to describe classificatory systems, with the meanings and values that are placed on particular objects and their circulation. Initially I endeavoured to 'lump things together' in various ways and then sought to discover

⁵⁸⁶ Appadurai, 1986.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 14.

the meanings attached to them. The simplest scheme was to classify the Cathedral contents in two ways; by their function and by their materiality or substance.

To categorize the artefacts by function seemed a relatively straightforward task. The purpose of a cathedral is ostensibly to give tangible, material acknowledgement to the presence of an absent or invisible God - the 'house of God' idea of a church, with the attached ideology of sacredness. But, as I quoted from Grover⁵⁸⁸ in Chapter One and as evidenced in the ongoing litigious dispute over the future of the Cathedral (see Habte ⁵⁸⁹), the actual building functions in a multiplicity of ways, not least as a major storehouse of a city's history. It also makes present those human beings who are absent, but who leave their traces in material objects⁵⁹⁰. I have already shown how there may also be a variety of constructed meanings for a building, in this case, the Cathedral, as Cohen⁵⁹¹ shows in his seminal work on imagined communities. Many of the Cathedral's artefacts were also multi-functional. I will briefly sketch these functions before going into more detail, considering their materiality and then the social life of several of the artefacts.

The first group of artefacts facilitated the major role of the Cathedral: to worship God through 'Word and Sacrament'; that was, to preach and teach from the Biblical text and to enact the sacramental rites of baptism, confirmation, penance, eucharist (thanksgiving/holy communion), healing, marriage and ordination. This worship purpose was predominantly achieved through various liturgies, which could include music with organ or other accompaniment and singing, by cantor, choir and congregation. Focus was on the reading and preaching from lectern and pulpit; attention during the most sacred part of the ritual was on the central altar/'holy table'⁵⁹², with its distinctive coverings and objects, such as crosses, candlesticks and communion vessels. Adding to this scene was the setting of altar cloths, banners and dossal⁵⁹³ and the particular vestments, such as albs, stoles and chasubles, worn by clergy, assistants and choir. Thus many artefacts were enmeshed in the central performances of the gathered community's ritual life. Individual's experience of them would

⁵⁸⁸ R. Grover, *Cathedrals of the world*, 2010.

⁵⁸⁹ B. Habte, 'The Christchurch Cathedral Controversy', 2013.

⁵⁹⁰ M. Meyer, 'Placing and tracing absence', 2012.

⁵⁹¹ A. Cohen (ed.), *The symbolic construction of community*, New York, Methuen, 1985.

⁵⁹² This distinction is made by some sectors of the Church and reflects varying theologies.

⁵⁹³ Dossal: an ornamental cloth hung behind and above an altar, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/dossal>, (accessed 24 August 2016).

be primarily through attendance and participation at worship services or as Connerton⁵⁹⁴ would suggest, memory is enacted through objects and relational experiences.

My research demonstrates that artefacts were significant as memory joggers or indeed as part of personal identity. For instance, one woman in her late eighties told me of sourcing, on a visit to Japan, particular thread for an embroidered dossal that remained in the Cathedral. She then made the telling comment, 'I feel as if a part of me is still in there', thus constructing the needlework as an integral part of herself. For others, the banners and altar cloths held particular meaning because of a sense of social connection, either with the artist or the person commemorated; or in the case of Spiegel's altar cloth, with theological issues and disputes.

The second major group of things are those which acted primarily as memorials to an individual or group but added to the ambiance of the building. These included stained glass windows, stone wall plaques, brass plaques on walls, dedicated chairs and stairs, flags, *tutuktuku* panels, a votive candle stand, twelve memorial pillars, thirty-three flags, and wall and floor mosaics. A Memorial Chapel held the names of hundreds of slain Canterbury soldiers carved into its wall. Other objects were the wooden furniture and carvings, such as six historical figures around the high altar and various carved angels, Pacific Chapel furniture, lecterns, candlesticks and the cathedra. Each of these things held its own story and attachments. Thus, almost every artefact within the Cathedral could be said to function at a number of levels, involving various relationships. As May commented:

*it's what we build around us, and the people who've gone before us, because virtually every artefact that's in there has been, is generally, a commemorative artefact, and has been given by families and so forth then – you know, the spirit of the people who have built that place up and moved through it, that to me is life, is a very important part of our spirituality, of our, of the church's mission, and of us as people*⁵⁹⁵.

In my opinion, this is as clear a statement as any, of the significance and relationships of the Cathedral artefacts to a number of Christchurch people. Further, May identifies regard for this fact as part of the mission of the Church, which I claim has been insufficiently acknowledged in the Cathedral saga. As Pinney writes, 'clearly things make people and people who are made by those things go on to make other things,'⁵⁹⁶ whilst Miller maintains that 'things, not, mind you, individual things, but the whole system of things, with their

⁵⁹⁴ P. Connerton, *How societies remember*, 1989.

⁵⁹⁵ May, 2012.

⁵⁹⁶ C. Pinney, 'Things happen', 2005, p. 257.

internal order, make us the people we are’⁵⁹⁷. Tilley has lucidly demonstrated how people are created by their material world, which in turn can reflect and influence the social order. He uses Bourdieu’s example of the Kabyle house to show this connectivity⁵⁹⁸. Bourdieu’s own use of churchgoing as an example of ‘habitus’⁵⁹⁹ is also relevant here, as I note not only ‘churchgoing’ but also the ambience of the building and the potency of ritual in constructing Cathedral Anglicans.

THE MATERIALITY OF CATHEDRAL BUILDING AND ARTEFACTS

STONE

Stone was the building material that the early colonists had argued for. This was in spite of architect Scott’s original plans being for a wooden church, because of his awareness of the risk of earthquakes⁶⁰⁰. This insistence on a Cathedral like the cathedrals and parish churches at ‘home’ suggests to me that the building itself for the early pioneers was a transitional object in Parkin’s⁶⁰¹ terms. It helped to make the absent Britain present on the other side of the world, with the assistance of the willow trees planted on the banks of the Avon River and the rose bushes that were brought from ‘home’ and rooted into early gardens, practices that Eldred-Grigg⁶⁰² has vividly demonstrated.

Practically all the stone artefacts were cited by respondents as being important, giving reasons such as:

The preaching pulpit’s carving was spectacular; the tiled floor is bright and welcoming; I appreciated all the beauty and symbolism; they are the history of our city in its development and progress to date. This link from the start to today must not be lost and forgotten.

Sculptured stone framed the Cathedral porches and interior. Much of Canterbury’s early colonial and Church history was recorded in various engraved seals, arms, memorial panels and plaques, set around the walls, providing a frame for the interior. Respondents commented that they particularly liked or found personally significant:

⁵⁹⁷ D. Miller, *Stuff*, 2010, p. 53.

⁵⁹⁸ C. Tilley, ‘Introduction: Identity’, 2006.

⁵⁹⁹ Bourdieu, 1990.

⁶⁰⁰ Brown, 2000.

⁶⁰¹ Parkin, 1999, pp. 303-320.

⁶⁰² S. Eldred-Grigg, *A New History of Canterbury*, Dunedin, John McIndoe, 1982.

The stones in the porch from cathedrals in Britain, because of their history and connection with the Anglican Church in England.

Memorials to previous bishops are a point of linkage with past leaders.

The limestone corner blocks of the actual Cathedral building itself and the stone from around the windows and doors (light-coloured sandstone) were quarried from my great grandfather's farm in North Canterbury. Apparently some of the unused blocks still remain on the farm and one has my great-grandfather's initials carved into it.

Our great grandfather Charles Alabaster's memorial tablet. I believe, though frail at the time, he was an eloquent speaker in promoting the fact that Christchurch must have a Cathedral.

My father Bishop Warren's Memorial on the North Wall. Daddy, having been Dean Alwyn Warren and Bishop A. K. Warren of Christchurch. The Cathedral means a lot to me even though I live in Cheviot.

Another person's grandfather had worked at Halswell quarry and had brought stone for the Cathedral to the city. I was told that in one of the protest gatherings promoted by the GCBT there was a very eloquent plea for the restoration of the Cathedral from a man whose forebear had been an original Cathedral stonemason. These quotes demonstrate how stone objects have become part of people's personal and social memory, as Halbwachs⁶⁰³ would claim.

Stone was also used to fashion the pulpit, a memorial to 'Bishop Augustus Selwyn, the first and only Bishop of New Zealand'⁶⁰⁴. Many commented on this magnificent work, which was extensively damaged and post-earthquake was held together by encircling steel bands. For some, it was an aesthetic appreciation of the pulpit's carved scenes of the Lyttelton arrival of Bishop Harper and his family but one person said it was important to him because it was from there that the Good News was preached. Thus form and function became linked with personal ideology.

⁶⁰³ M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 1972.

⁶⁰⁴ Thomas, 2006.



Figure 30: Cathedral pulpit. Photo-Roger Marks

The same could be said of the stone baptismal font that was smashed and remains within the Cathedral. One respondent said this artefact was important to her ‘because new life is blessed there.’ Several people spoke of the font’s personal significance because family members were baptised there. On a recent visit to England, at the village church of my forebears, I watched my nephew explain to his young daughter that her sixth great grandmother had been baptised in that particular font. I felt a pang of sadness in realising that the grandchildren I had baptised in the Christ Church Cathedral font could never be thus memorialised. In heritage debates, the issue of patrimony is significant because it links the present with the past and the future, and present day people with their forebears and descendants.

The memorial cenotaph of Bishop Henry Chitty Harper, first Bishop of Christchurch is an important *taonga*. It is particularly significant, of course, to his numerous descendants, a group of whom met with Cathedral staff after the earthquakes to find out what was happening to this effigy. Two Harper descendants ventured:

Harper’s memorial is important to me because Harper was my children’s fourth great grandfather. My son sang in the choir and I know the fabric of the Cathedral so well.

I am a great grandson of Bishop Harper, and have a great love of the Cathedral. My forebear was a man of his time. I’m sure if he was here now, he would like to see a cathedral built for the 21st century, incorporating what is possible to save in the way

of artefacts from the old one. It could (must?) be multi-purpose, and can be both beautiful and a focal point for Christchurch⁶⁰⁵.

Mosaics covered the floors and some walls of the building and included assorted memorials, such as a ship commemorating the Canterbury pilgrims. At the TC, a woman told me she is very happy not to be confronted with this mosaic now, because of all its connections with the way Christchurch was – seemingly mono-cultural and elitist. Certainly in the past, descendants of those who came in ‘the first four ships’ - what one person described as our Pakeha ‘waka’⁶⁰⁶ – have been honoured in ways that have seemed to exclude others. One person told me that she felt that she was treated differently because her forebears were not amongst the names of these early pioneers engraved on part of Cathedral Square. For my earlier commentator, even the mosaic symbolized for her a whole social system.

On one wall a mosaic pattern included the ancient swastika sign, commented on often by tourists and of course predating Nazi Germany’s use of this symbol. This is another example of the signifying power of a symbol. In my interview with her, Spigel said she cherished the tiles on the walls, particularly one quotation ‘Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house’, which she has used in a commemorative quilt on display in the ‘Quake City’ exhibition.



Figure 31: ‘I have loved the habitation’ quilt. Photo-Sue Spigel

There were stone steps leading to a small room in the Cathedral tower, used as a workroom by Spigel. When I asked Spigel which particular artefacts were significant to her, she noted a number of things including:

⁶⁰⁵ Comments in questionnaire.

⁶⁰⁶ Waka: Maori canoe

I also loved the little stone steps that were hand carved, that went up to my little room, upstairs. And I - at one time I was making a quilt and I needed a piece of fabric with some texture on it, so I took a crayon impression from the steps and my hope was that... and I rubbed the crayon over it, so that it took the impression from the steps and as I looked at it, it was like the person, he had left his imprint, and, you know, a real human being had been here and loved it, and he had left his imprint on the steps, carving away the stone to make it the right size to fit in, and the fact that there was a human being there, a hundred and thirty years ago, when [he'd] actually been working on that, and making that, and I felt like I was just carrying the art on, a little bit more, so –it was something I had a very personal love of⁶⁰⁷.

This quote, in my view, gives a clear indication of the intertwining relationships between the personal and the material; subjectivity, identity and temporality; the past, in the person of the stonemason and his work, the present, in the imagination and work of Spigel and the future, in the social life of the created artefacts, such as her quilt and my thesis. The stone steps are thus linked, bound up with the identity of stonemason, artist and thesis writer.

There was another set of stairs winding up the Cathedral tower. Many tourists climbed this stairway to view the city from the top balcony. This explains the deep concerns about how many might have been up there during the February 2011 earthquake. Canon Jenny May who led the recovery of artefacts had a story about an incident which occurred when she was helping to sort the rubble from the tower:

different people ring up about things that are gifts that relatives have given. When we were going through all the rubble, I – two nights before I, I'd been - I had friends, actually, to dinner. One of them said, 'What's happened to all the brass plaques that were on the steps?' I said, 'I don't know that we found any. (You know, the tower. Remember, a campaign was run to sell all the steps of the tower to raise money for the Cathedral and the families' names were attached?) Next day I went onto the site and they found four, and one of them was the person who I'd had to dinner – I couldn't believe it! Of all the ones to find!'⁶⁰⁸

This sense of serendipity did surface in one or two other comments, more particularly in the stories of escape from injury and suggest a certain mysteriousness about what was going on.

A distinctive New Zealand stone is *pounamu*⁶⁰⁹. This formed the base of a pottery water feature as well as the carved door of the aumbry⁶¹⁰. These were added in recent years and

⁶⁰⁷ S. Spigel, interviewed by PA, 18 October 2012.

⁶⁰⁸ May, 30 July 2012.

⁶⁰⁹ *Pounamu*: New Zealand greenstone.

⁶¹⁰ The aumbry is a small recessed cupboard in the sanctuary of the church used to keep the wafers and wine for communion once they have been blessed.

required consultation with local *Ngāi Tahu* and the commissioning of a Maori carver. The base remained in the Cathedral, whilst the *pounamu* door is in a TC office. An elderly English woman participant said how important this aumbry was to her because ‘all the churches in England have one and the church seemed bare without one’. Again one sees the agency of an object in linking the individual with her life and church experience in England, as well as her ideology of the aumbry making the absent Christ present, in the reserved bread and wine. For her it was enchanted.

WOOD

Wood, much of it native or recycled, was used extensively in the interior of the Cathedral. Recently, a friend visiting from overseas told me that she most misses being able to see the woodwork in the chancel. The church’s woven *matai* and *totara* rafters, huge doors and many finely carved pieces of furniture were all made from wood. How early builders criss-crossed the beams of the roof remained something of a mystery, according to one participant. Another, a Cathedral tour guide, spoke of how much she had enjoyed pointing out this roof to visitors, who viewed it with awe. I suggest that the sentiment aroused by this sense of an enclosing sacred canopy can be traced back to pre-Christian times. As Hacken argues, ‘There is a folk belief that neo-Gothic architecture owes its form to the forest, the columns simulating trees with branches reaching up in imitation of the vaulted arch we see between trees from below.’⁶¹¹

⁶¹¹ R. Hacken, *Into the imagined forest; a 2000-year retrospective of the German woods*, Harold B Lee Library, Brigham Young University, [http://wessweb.info/index.php/Into the Imagined Forest](http://wessweb.info/index.php/Into_the_Imagined_Forest), (accessed 10 May 2014).



Figure 32: The Cathedral chancel showing the reredos with its carved figures and dossal, the aumbry (Rt.) cathedra (Lt.), banners and tile image of one of the First Four ships. Photo-Roger Marks.

My interview with Noel Woods, former Cathedral administrator, was full of stories about wood, its various types and sources and the many cathedral artefacts that he had created from it. Lee told me how much she values furniture made by Woods in memory of her late husband's family. She showed me a slither of wood, explaining:

Well, the slip of wood I carry in my wallet, I've had it there for a number of years and it's a piece of kauri that came from the ceiling in the Cathedral. When the earthquake strengthening was done in the building, some of the wood had to be removed to make room for the strengthening and that wood was made into pieces of furniture, but, also a little, a little slip was given to me and I still have that with me...I have a lot of things from the Cathedral that live with me and this is just a, a small object that I just carry around when I'm overseas and I take it with me Yes! Yes! It's almost like part of me⁶¹².

The idea of a part of the Cathedral being part of oneself or part of oneself being contained within the Cathedral building was also voiced by former Dean, John Bluck, writing post-earthquake: 'I know that life will never be the same again for people in Christchurch. But neither will it be for any of us who left part of ourselves behind in the cathedral city. And

⁶¹² N. Lee, interviewed by PA, 25 June 2012.

most especially in the Cathedral itself⁶¹³. These are further illustrations of the link between materiality, embodiment and identity.

All the historic furniture on display in the tower, such as Bishop Harper's seat and an original Cathedral chair were smashed, along with the elaborately carved font cover. Some of the furniture was retrieved and is in use in the TC. Woods described the *cathedra*:

the Bishop's chair, which sits up in the sanctuary there, or further down, when the Bishop is there, and she sits in it, and it was made by Bernard Sherwood and carved by Guernsey and the names of all the bishops are carved on the back of it, and it's just got to the stage where if we get, if we get one more bishop's name on the cathedra, you'll have to think of something else⁶¹⁴.

In my opinion this is an intriguing example of how a material object, a wooden chair, not only replicates but also constructs the name of the building and the position of the bishop, but also carries the memory of its creators and the other bishops who have sat on it.

METAL

Metal of various types was used for a variety of artefacts. Some, such as flagons, chalices and patens used for Holy Communion were made from gold and silver. The intrinsic value of these two metals reflects the sense of the specialness or sacredness of their usage. Interviewed staff referred to these items as 'the family silver' and most were retrieved in the first week after the February earthquake and put to immediate use when the congregation gathered the following Sunday, giving a sense of familiarity and continuity.



Figure 33: Sister Sandra CSN with Communion Vessels at Fendalton School. Photo-Nicky Lee

⁶¹³ J. Bluck, *Once and Future Cathedral*. www.blucksbooks.com 2012, p. 1.

⁶¹⁴ N. Woods, interviewed by PA, 29 August 2012.

Brass was used extensively for such things as crosses and candlesticks, wall memorial plaques and those on stairs and the back of chairs. These were cited as important by a number of people, obviously linking the person commemorated, even from another generation, with the person viewing them. The Terrier also noted one large external cross. Apparently after the February earthquake, the daughter of its manufacturer rang the Cathedral staff to ask for a photo of the cross on the ground. She was told she could actually see it down the road in the Canterbury Museum. This cross was later displayed in the Quake City exhibition, which I visited. I found it very moving to stand and look at it and actually touch it. This experience alerts me to the sensory nature of attachment, which is not only reinforced by that which can be seen or heard, as in the chimes of the peace bell mentioned above, but also by touch. Tilley claims that there is much need for further research on the sensory aspects of material culture⁶¹⁵.

In the historical display room at the base of the Cathedral tower, there were two iron crosses which were once on the Cathedral spire but displaced in the 1888 and 1901 earthquakes. Post-earthquake, these were retrieved from the rubble and were displayed in a touring exhibition of earthquake objects, formerly shown in Canterbury Museum. Thus these objects carried on their life as symbols of previous earthquake's force and destruction, whilst living as examples of the recent disaster.

The distinctive Cathedral soundscape with its ringing bells, organ and choir music was also dependent on metal and I would argue was part of Anglican identity but was also embedded in the memory of many Christchurch residents. People spoke of missing the peal of bells resounding around the Square. One recalled the tolling of the Cathedral bells after a particular funeral, whilst I remember the joyous sound of these bells ringing out on my wedding day. A number of respondents referenced the organ, with such comments as, 'I loved the music' or 'I loved the organ'. The principal organ remains in the Cathedral, whilst the bells, having been restored in England, are stored awaiting a home. Not long after the February earthquake, I was told of a lone USAR man sitting playing the Cathedral piano in the chancel and the strange eeriness of the sound in the deserted and desolate building. Obviously this vivid image has remained in the memories of the player, the teller and me.

⁶¹⁵ Tilley, *Introduction: Identity*, 2006.

A votive candle stand, shaped somewhat like a *menorah*⁶¹⁶, is a more recently installed memorial to the husband of Rosemary Roake, a current member of the congregation. It was used by many visitors and congregation members to light candles for prayer. One person wrote, ‘I used to go in and light a candle to my mum every time I went past’. In fact, I have on my bedroom wall a photograph of this artefact with its lit candles, given to us when my first husband was terminally ill. This links him in a trace, along with a chair and a flag, going back into the Cathedral. A priest friend who assisted visitors and tourists in the Cathedral said her most significant memory of that place was of people talking with her about their concerns, then going with them to light a candle at this stand.



Figure 34: The ‘Menorah’ with Lit Candles. Photo-Roger Marks

Thus the ritual of candlelighting was intrinsic in memory. This metal holder was the first thing named in my initial focus group when one woman said: ‘I liked it because my father was a Jew and my mother Christian. It seemed to bring the two faiths together’. This comment demonstrates, in my opinion, the interaction between a material object and a person’s ontology and her construction of reality. This is a simple illustration of the agency given to a material object, begging the question of how a metal artefact can have this kind of potency, bringing two historic religious ideologies together. Of course, it is a meaning or agency, developed from this woman’s personal history, constructed by this particular individual.

FABRIC

Fabric items form a specific purpose in Anglicanism and particularly in Cathedral life. Clergy and others who take part in the service performance may wear particular clothes, some of it,

⁶¹⁶ In one focus group I was told that a previous dean had emphasized that it was not actually a *menorah*, because that is a specifically Jewish symbol.

such as alb and chasuble, dating back in style to the Roman Empire, whilst the male and boys' choir, in their distinctive red cassocks, were an important and recognisable feature of the Cathedral. As mentioned above, all these clothes were retrieved and continue in use. I note also that failure to wear particular clothing, rather remaining in street clothes when conducting worship services, as is happening in some of the more evangelical Anglican churches, can be the signal of particular theologies. Thus, as Miller and others have pointed out, stuff, even clothing, what and how and when and if it is worn, matters⁶¹⁷.

During church services, the altar is adorned with patterned cloths and fine white linen used for Holy Communion. May confessed that she

*couldn't bear the thought of leaving that, all that needlework behind, because some of it was so old, and very precious, and it was all the work of a lot of people and of the community, and so the things like that I couldn't bear, and they were so much part of our worship*⁶¹⁸.

Embroidered banners were used in display and procession. All of these were retrieved and are in use or on display in the TC.

People from each of the parishes of the Diocese embroidered one or more named tapestry kneelers for the Cathedral. When I began this project, the first question asked of me was 'what happened to the kneelers?' A staff member commented, 'Yes, the kneelers, I mean, they were all made by the various parishes, so there's a strong link to, I mean, every parish had at least one kneeler ... some strong links there with the whole Diocese'. In this remark one can detect the way in which a material object is part of a network of relationships, acting as the link between the 'mother church' and the parish congregation. Some of these kneelers were retrieved and are in storage or occasional use, whilst many remained in the Cathedral.

⁶¹⁷ D. Millar, *Stuff*, Cambridge, UK, Polity, 2010.

⁶¹⁸ May, 2012.

There were 33 flags either displayed in the Cathedral or stored for particular occasions, such as Commonwealth Day or United States Presidents' Day. Some were regimental colours and were named specifically by one participant, who was formerly a member of the armed forces. He knew the significance of particular flags and the ceremonies associated with them. Other flags, such as those of the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts signal questionably tenuous connections with the Church, but further illustrate the meshwork of relationships symbolised in particular artefacts. The United Tribes of New Zealand flag was donated by my late husband and presented by some of our grandchildren and me on Waitangi Day 2006, after his death. I tell this personal story to illustrate how a particular flag, ostensibly simply a piece of cloth, can speak of national history, the struggles for justice for indigenous people which was my husband's passion and the familial connectedness to the social life of that particular flag which I used to look at every time I went into the Cathedral, remembering its provenance and my husband handing it over on his death bed. I wrote this in 2015 when New Zealanders were considering designs for a possible new flag. The media covered the discourses surfacing, such as issues of nationalism and the honouring of slain soldiers who 'fought under the flag'. The national referendum chose to retain the 'old' flag, a symbol of the colonial past.

Sentiments about flags and their potency, along with the way in which a material object has a social life are illustrated in Lee's testimony:

One of the things I tried to retrieve ...was the American flag, because the Americans never let their flag touch the ground and it must be held up and we just had the last Sunday Evensong... we still had their flag in the office and when I first went in there... it was lying on the ground. The contents of the office were all over the place, we took it out, and, my next photo of it was on my washing line. I washed it! (chuckle) got it clean again, not sure what the next photo will be! It's on its way somewhere⁶¹⁹.

So here is a material object carrying on its social life in an unpredicted fashion. Perhaps, wherever it has ended up, the story will be told of its former life in the Christ Church Cathedral during a major earthquake.

⁶¹⁹ Lee, 2012.

Paper, in the form of books, music and pictures is significant. Of major importance was the choir library in over 300 boxes of music. Most of these were retrieved and initially stored in a 'portacom' in the Christ College car park, but some music remained in the building. One participant, normally a very matter of fact person, voiced her personal sadness:

(The Cathedral is) unsafe. Everything I've read, or conversations I've had with people who know the state of it tell me it's unsafe. There are things I'd like to get out of that Cathedral. There's all sorts of things precious to us as a Cathedral community...lost, and on a very personal and selfish level I'd like to get all my son's solos he sang in Year 9, the last year of his treble voice...all of that beautiful solo work recorded...lost - that's a very selfish view - there are selfish views in this whole argument but even things that are important to the history of the city that were stored in the Cathedral can't be retrieved - it's tragic.

Here the woman identifies herself as a mother with sentiments which she considers selfish but juxtapositions that against broader heritage arguments. I would contend that what this person considers to be selfish is simply another illustration of individual attachment to specific objects, with their reminder of a particular person and experience.

In the Cathedral were various art works such as oil paintings, some historic. There were over 1000 bibles, prayer and hymnbooks as well as the personal libraries of the Dean and Associate Dean. May expressed two stories from her salvage attempts that also demonstrate the connectedness of things and people:

I was walking past (Dean) Peter's office and he had a Winnie the Pooh that had always been there and I thought, gosh! I'm not going to leave that there - this was in early days, and I might see the odd thing and I picked it up, it was just four weeks later - and when I came out of the red zone I just walked up to Peter, he had his head down, and I just sat it on his desk, and he looked up, and just said, 'Well! There's Pooh!' and he picked it up, you know and - so they are meaningful...they are. So I knew someone had given it to him, so it's hard to say what, you know, that's not the most meaningful thing, I'm sure, but everything, what I'm trying to say, that everything that came out had different meanings for different people.

There's virtually things that mean things to people too. (Associate Dean) Lynda's books were the most important thing for her, some ways, was the thing to get out and not an artefact of the Cathedral, but they're a huge part of the way she is part of our worship. (pause) I understand that, because I've lost a lot of my books, and they're my, you know, tools of my trade, and I wasn't

*able to get them out, so that was something that I understood, that was really important*⁶²⁰.

Thus, whilst books were not generally considered as artefacts, they were in fact significantly constructed as agents in the identity and work of their owners.

OTHER

Stained glass windows, fourteen in total, were a notable feature of the Cathedral, each having a unique story to tell. In particular was the already mentioned ‘Rose Window’. Fifteen of my respondents noted a particular fondness for this window. One person who worked in the Cathedral told me:

*The Rose Window, I saw, in all the lights, because I was standing there early in the morning, and in the winter, because it was all dark, I was there after the concerts at night, I was there in the full day time and it just changed, so many times, the colours were beautiful! And I’d go out, early in the morning, through the vestry door, into the nave, and the different lights, it was, it just made the nave so different. Sometimes there’d be lights reflecting on chairs, it’s, yeah, it just changed, it just sort of gave a wonderful feeling*⁶²¹.

This interview gives an insight into the influence of light and material objects, producing a human response. Aesthetics are a significant consideration when deciding the future of a building and this case, as acknowledged by the bishop, this window was the ‘icon of the icon’. A young participant wrote about the specialness to him of another window: ‘Two of the three tall stained glass windows behind the high altar, erected in memory of John and Ellen Studholme. They were my great grand-parents’.

VALUE OF CATHEDRAL CONTENTS

The age and provenance of artefacts help to construct their perceived value, which may be economic but on other registers could be priceless. Cathedral authorities were required to put a monetary value on every item, for insurance purposes. These raised problems about arbitrating on the value of historical materials, inalienable gifts and artefacts destroyed by the earthquakes. One staff member recalled that they had to ‘pluck numbers out of the air’. There is also the question of what happens about those things not salvaged but which are being seriously compromised by weather, rats,

⁶²⁰ May, 2012.

⁶²¹ Anonymous Participant interviewed by PA, 05 September 2012.

pigeons and neglect, awaiting jurisdiction on the future of the Cathedral. This further destruction would not necessarily be covered by the initial insurance claim. In fact, issues of insurance, as already noted, have proved to be a further nightmare, not only for Cathedral authorities but also for many of the city's other property owners.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE ARTEFACTS?

Decisions on which artefacts to salvage first featured in some of my early interviews, along with many intriguing stories of retrieval. Broadly speaking, what happened to the Cathedral contents fell into one of four categories; those which were destroyed in the earthquakes; those retrieved and in use in the TC; those which were retrieved and are in storage or are being repaired; those which remained in the Cathedral at the time of writing.

As I commence this unit of writing, I want to note that I have discovered myself slipping ambivalently between various grammatical tenses. What 'was' in many cases no longer 'is'. This uncertainty is possibly illustrative of my personal ambivalence, but also of the liminal nature of many of the artefacts which are currently 'betwixt and between' in Turner's⁶²² words, their state and future uncertain.

My early first draft of this section covered half a page and simply listed the losses. It wasn't until my supervisor commented 'this is huge Patricia', that I noticed the weight in my chest and tears welling up as we talked about the 'affective turn', with its interest in the role of emotion in the construction of social relationships as Gregg and Seigworth⁶²³ have shown. Yes, the losses are huge and I found an inclination to gloss over both the explicit and implicit emotionality of the loss. This tendency was very apparent initially after the earthquakes when many people, asked how they had fared, said 'I lost a lot of stuff but it's only stuff you know'. However, 'stuff' as Millar⁶²⁴ has so ably demonstrated, is not only 'stuff' but a vital component of who we are as human beings. To lose 'stuff' can feel like losing a part of ourselves, our identity. Two years on from the earthquakes, one of my daughters commented, 'It's like death. People who haven't experienced it think that you should have moved on but you are only just coming to terms with all that has gone'. Many times people explained the

⁶²² V. Turner, *The ritual process: structure and antistructure*, London, Routledge and K. Paul, 1969.

⁶²³ M. Gregg and G. Seigworth (eds.), *The affect theory reader*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2010.

⁶²⁴ Miller, *Stuff*, 2010.

controversy by saying ‘we have lost so much’. Even five years later, a friend, in conversation about the Cathedral, said ‘we are all sort of numb’.

Some people, including Matthews, have suggested that the Cathedral controversy is simply a population’s way of coming to terms with the anger and grief of all that has gone. Certainly an emotional resonance can be detected in the responses of many to my questionnaire and focus group and interview participants. Over 125 individually valued artefacts, as well as the building itself, were named as significant. However, I do not agree that grief or anger caused by grief is the main cause of the controversy. One participant, who professionally and personally knows a lot about grief processes and how they are dealt with, also voiced his own skepticism about this argument.

Three of my initial interviews were with people who were involved in the salvaging of objects, so I was able to build a good picture of what had happened. Some stories from these retrieval measures are featured in this chapter. Without doubt, Jenny May, a former Cathedral Canon, NZ Chairperson of ICOMOS and Heritage consultant, was the principal actor. It is recognised that much would not have been retrieved without her proactive leadership in the early days after the February 2011 earthquake and up to the June 2011 events. Because of her job as heritage consultant to the CCC, she was initially the only woman allowed in the red zone and so she later had some access to the Cathedral. Initially she formulated some of her priorities for retrieval:

my big thing was to have worship as near as it could be, to normal. So, for example, all the vestments, all the robes – I mean I went downstairs and got all those, I got all the choir stuff out, and all the canons’ stuff out, and I remember the engineer saying, ‘Is this essential?’ and I said, ‘Yes, it is!’ We’re not going to get the money to replace this, but it allows us a degree of normality in worship, to have the canons, and the priests, and the choir, and their robes⁶²⁵.

May’s professional expertise, Christian faith and Cathedral membership made her uniquely placed to salvage significant artefacts.

⁶²⁵ May, 2012.



Figure 35: Jenny May with a Banner Retrieved From the Cathedral. Photo-Nicky Lee

ARTEFACTS DESTROYED IN THE EARTHQUAKES

As already noted, in the February earthquake the Cathedral tower imploded, destroying the ‘museum’ which contained a number of historical artefacts such as the York glass⁶²⁶, an oil painting of Bishop Harper, Bishop Harper’s throne, various Episcopal robes, four Gilbert Scott plans for the Cathedral, Bishop Julius’s writing compendium, an original cathedral chair, stonemasons’ tools, and old Bibles and prayer books. A considerable amount of music and choir memorabilia stored in the tower was also destroyed, along with twelve Cathedral scrapbooks. In the Cathedral itself, a number of chairs were shattered as bulldozers pushed aside the ruins of the tower in the search for bodies. In this and subsequent earthquakes, there has been serious damage to other objects, such as the carved font cover and a pottery water

⁶²⁶ Thomas, 2006, p. 38. The York glass was presented by the Archbishop of York to mark the Centenary of the Cathedral November 11, 1981. It contained pieces of glass from 12-19th centuries.

feature; the solid stone slab of the high altar which cracked in two; the pulpit; and some of the wood carvings. As previously stated, when the rose window was shattered, there was a distinctive note of blame, as was the fact that the building's interior was not wrapped up to prevent pigeons getting in. In fact, at one point the GCBT offered to finance this precaution but were turned down by the Church authorities. When I asked about this I was told it was because there would be problems with moisture rotting the wood in the building.

ARTEFACTS RETRIEVED

FIRST RETRIEVAL

The first retrieval occurred three days after the February earthquake. CCTV footage was required and staff was told there would be a brief opportunity to take out things that they could carry. Beck and Oldham, wearing face masks, high-vis vests and hard hats were escorted in by officials, one with a radio transmitter. Oldham reflected:

*I had four goldfish in my office which - the goldfish tank hadn't fallen over the place so I hurriedly just poured the goldfish, one had died, but the other three were still alive, I poured them into one of the plastic buckets, being used for flowers. I couldn't carry them, so gave them to Peter to carry and we left together. One of the staff members had left her car in the car park, after the quake, so she'd given me the keys, so we drove that car out, so Peter's sitting in the front seat of this small car, with this bucket between his legs - so because, the road was all full of debris and broken bits of stuff we had to go up Bealey Ave to the police station. There were buckles over the curb and goodness knows what else. By the time we got to the police station water had slopped all over Peter's trousers so he got out there looking as though he'd wet himself but the goldfish survived, I've still got one at home!*⁶²⁷

This comment illustrates the post-earthquake concern that many people demonstrated for non-human as well as human life. It also demonstrates the humour that seemed to assist people in the early days following the disaster. I asked Oldham what else they had salvaged on that first occasion:

*we were there an hour or so, to get out, yeah, the family silver, all the chalices, all the candlesticks, crosses, all that sort of stuff came out so we took it, and all the Search and Rescue guys helped, there were photographs of Urban Search and Rescue guys with chalices in their hand, sitting around the bishop's chair out in the carpark, all that sort of thing, on that visit*⁶²⁸.

⁶²⁷ C. Oldham, Interviewed by PA, 2 July 2012.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

Lee, remembering that first rescue:

*Yes, the eagle came out straight after the February quake, there was a tiny window of opportunity straight after the February quake so that was when the cathedra came out, and the lectern, and some furniture from the Pacific Chapel*⁶²⁹.

SECOND RETRIEVAL

Several weeks after this, staff members were escorted in to retrieve further material. This time there were trailers and trucks ready to cart the material, which seemed to end up in a number of different places. May led this well planned exercise, not just, she said, a ‘raid to grab’. Each staff member was allotted a specific area to work in and clear instructions, with a list of items to be retrieved. She explains how difficult it was to plan, because ‘everything to me has some importance and you can’t take it all out, so really, it, it was very hard to work out what should come out first, ‘cause we didn’t know how many shots we would have of it’⁶³⁰. On that occasion, Lee took a number of now important photographs of the Cathedral interior, which she shared with the Cathedral congregation the following week. (and see Figure 36).

OTHER RETRIEVALS

Following these first two retrieval events, until June 2011, May, occasionally with a staff member, was able to be accompanied into the building by engineers to retrieve some other objects. As the aftershocks seemed to be easing off and storage was an issue, there was not such a great sense of urgency. I am interested, that to my knowledge, all the named chairs remain in the building. When the TC was being planned, I suggested that some of these chairs be retrieved for a side chapel but this idea lapsed. I was told of some resistance to it from the organising committee, which added to my sense that the symbolic value of material objects was not appreciated.

The choir has been a very significant part of Cathedral life. May explains:

One of the things that was really important to get was the music. You know, Brian (Director of Music) was frantic about that and that’s such a major part of our worship so that meant going down into the tunnels, and the engineers looked at it, and cleared that, and we worked a chain gang to do it quickly and efficiently. I did the first lots of grabs, actually, with just myself and two

⁶²⁹ Lee, 2012.

⁶³⁰ May, 30 July 2014.

*engineers, took out what was essential, Brian told me where to find them, but when we had the one big go, we did that*⁶³¹.

Thus the worship life of the Cathedral congregation continued at Fendalton School, Christ College Chapel and the TC with many material elements of familiarity.

ARTEFACTS NOT DESTROYED OR SALVAGED

The Church's media release on the pivotal announcement of the Cathedral deconstruction stated:

Quite a number of items have already been retrieved including: the eagle from the lectern, the Tūkūtu panels, a number of the flags that were hung in the cathedral including the blue ensign from one of the first four ships, the Charlotte Jane and Girls Brigade and Boys Brigade flags. Choral groups' organ from the chancel, cathedral choir music, carved stone head from the Pacific Chapel, war grave cross from Flanders, chalices (used during communion) and the pounamu door from the aumbry (in the sanctuary of the church used to keep the wafers and wine for communion once they have been blessed).

*Some of the significant heritage items and taonga that we are still hoping to retrieve are: the stained glass windows, Bishop Harper's effigy, the organ, the remains of the pulpit and the memorial stones and panels along the walls*⁶³².

No mention of chairs! This statement, to me reads like a public relations exercise and reinforces my argument that there appears to be some lack of understanding of the collective significance of seemingly simple material objects.

⁶³¹ May, 30 July 2014.

⁶³² Anglican Life (website), 'Cathedral not to be Demolished', <http://www.anglicanlife.org.nz/Lifestyle/Culture/News/Christchurch-Cathedral-Not-to-be-Demolished>, (accessed 09 October 2012).

NAMED CHAIRS



Figure 36: Chairs in Christ Church Cathedral. Photo-Nicky Lee

I have previously noted my own connection to a particular chair. The Cathedral office received several enquiries about individual chairs. Lee said:

What happened to the chairs, was one interesting question and the woman who contacted us in March, 2012, so over a year since the February earthquake and that was the daughter of the man whose name was on the chair. And the daughter had lost a lot in the earthquake and she said that she had delayed contacting us, because she felt that she just didn't want to hear any more bad news, but something in her still wanted to know, so she waited over a year before she could ring us and I just thought that it'd be really good if we could just get that chair, and give it to her, because she had lost a lot of her own belongings, yes, and, there'd been injury and things from the quakes, so it would have been, some sort of comfort to her ⁶³³.

In a focus group people became very animated as they shared memories of a Saturday morning working bee in a wood yard, to pull nails out of the timber donated for a set of new chairs. 'Everyone was there; Bishop Coles in his shorts; the wood had been donated - flooring from the old mill on Moorhouse Avenue.' The chairs were fashioned in the same design as the originals, which, however, had woven rather than upholstered seats. 'Many people thought there had been pews but there never were apparently'. The group recalled this shared event as part of their collective memory which I propose, was an element in their sense of belonging, their identity as 'Cathedral regulars'. Another participant commented:

⁶³³ N. Lee, Interviewed by PA, 2 July 2012.

I got stroppy about the chairs. I was on the Cathedral Chapter when we got those chairs...they were...developed from the original design, made slightly larger because our bottoms had got bigger over the years. And people were able to donate those chairs as a memorial to somebody or just donate them. I raised ...with a couple of people... Why weren't they removed? And I suggested to xxx that some of them should have been in the Transitional Cathedral, but they weren't there because yyy was doing the interior ...all the interior decoration and they wouldn't have fitted...I think the Memorial Chapel should have the old chairs. And I feel quite strongly about those chairs because they are a link with the past and when you know the story of the chairs - how they came to be and how everybody contributed to buy a chair - I feel there has been some misunderstanding and our story has been disregarded. And I think that's what's getting people. The authorities have missed the boat - they need to sit down and hear the stories⁶³⁴.

In this long quote lies my thesis – the the Church authorities failed to appreciate the strength of feeling that people have for particular artefacts and their meaning in the construction of personal and corporate history and that is why there is a controversy.

In their relatively short life these chairs collectively as well as particular ones amongst them, have their own relationships. For me, 'Dad's chair' has been the subject of several presentations, including an international conference, and so has gained another facet of life intertwined with mine. A fellow student suggested that 'Dad's chair' was synonymous with much of my work. Her comment helped me to formulate this thesis.

THE MEMORIAL CHAPEL AND CREDENCE TABLE



Figure 37: Christ Church Cathedral War Memorial Chapel with Credence Table visible on the right. . Photo-Roger Marks

⁶³⁴ Anonymous Participant , interviewed by PA, 2 June, 2014.

The Chapel of St Michael and St George, a side chapel in the Cathedral, commemorated hundreds of Cantabrians killed in World Wars One and Two. It contained war memorabilia, such as a carved altar, regimental flags and a cross from Flanders Field. One wall featured finely carved angel figures and wooden panels decorated, in a symbolic fashion, with the plants of Commonwealth countries such as New Zealand's *kowhai*, Australia's wattle, England's oak, Wales's leek and Ireland's shamrock, with the names of the dead in various colours. As one participant told me. 'The light blue's Air Force, the dark blue's from the Navy, and the red's the Army'. Thus this wall, through its symbols, acknowledged New Zealand's place in the wider world, its involvement in world wars and massive losses of its citizens.

When I began this project I was surprised that I could find no reference to this chapel in official records of war memorials. It is not listed amongst the 900 memorial sites registered in New Zealand⁶³⁵. I am not sure why, as a similar chapel to commemorate nurses killed in World War One was built in Christchurch Hospital and is listed. Seven people from my questionnaire stated that the Memorial Chapel was important to them. The regimental flags, which were almost falling to bits, have been carefully stored. I am not aware that the existence of this war memorial chapel or the need for its retention has been used in the arguments to restore the Cathedral. It seems an obvious omission, particularly in the light of the international interest in WW1 Centenary commemorations. Certainly most of the rhetoric around the need for restoration has focussed on the outside of the building, a fact commented on by historian, Colin Brown⁶³⁶. This chapel was used for small mid-day services and was viewed by a number of people as a quiet place for prayer and reflection. One participant, whose employment and home life were quite demanding, told me:

it was a beautiful retreat for me - so there was nowhere for me to actually escape from anywhere, so that chapel was just beautiful, and you could just go in it, and it had - the lighting was quite dim and the feeling in it was just one of peace, and it gave me a chance just to sit there and actually recover. I could get away from it, from everything and I'd often go in there and just sit, and I also liked the angels that were, just, on the wall between the chapel and the nave, truly beautiful⁶³⁷.

⁶³⁵ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, NZ memorials register map, updated 20 December 2012, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/map/memorials-register-map>, (accessed 5 November 2015).

⁶³⁶ C. Brown, 'Time to look inside the Cathedral', *The Press*, 17 September 2013, www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/.../Time-to-look-inside-the-cathedral, (accessed 13 November 2013).

⁶³⁷ Anonymous Participant, interviewed by PA, 05 September 2014.

This interview shows how space, light and material objects created an ambiance, an effect, which produced an emotional response in this woman, in turn affecting her work and wider life.

A CREDENCE TABLE

Credence tables are small shelves or tables beside the altar and are used to hold the bread and wine and extra communion vessels prior to the Holy Communion. The used vessels are cleared from the altar to the credence table. That is the table's primary function. One such small table, actually a finely carved wooden shelf, is in the Memorial Chapel. McKenzie et al. concerning this credence table simply note 'on the second panel, below the Chaplain's Badge is the Credence Table given by Chaplains in memory of a fellow chaplain'⁶³⁸.

After my research questionnaire was put on-line, I was surprised to receive a book, *Keith Harper, Man with a Mission* from its self-published author, Suzanne McPherson. I later met McPherson who told me that when she and her husband visited the Cathedral in the 2000s they discovered that the credence table, given in memory of her father, the Revd. Keith Harper, had no identification. 'The guides didn't know anything about him', she said. After a conversation with the Dean, a brass plaque was made to memorialise the gift. She confessed that Cassino was misspelt as Casino on the plaque but they had never told anyone. I said it added to the table's provenance. Harper, an army chaplain, had been killed in the Battle of Monte Cassino in Italy in February 22nd 1944. There is a photograph of the credence table in McPherson's book, whilst Thomas notes, 'Below the Chaplains' badge is the credence table, given by chaplains in memory of the Revd Keith Harper, the only New Zealand chaplain to lose his life in World War Two'⁶³⁹. This story illustrates both the significance of memorabilia to later generations and the importance of naming, so that the trace of the absent person remains in a more tangible form.

⁶³⁸ M. McKenzie & The Friends of Christ Church Cathedral, *A guide to Christchurch Cathedral, New Zealand*. Christchurch, The Friends of Christchurch Cathedral Association, 1954.

⁶³⁹ Thomas, 2006, p.18.

A LECTERN



Figure 38: Ken Elliott Lectern Photo⁶⁴⁰- Urbex Central

In late 2014 some intrepid ‘urban photographers’ trespassed into the ruins of Christ Church Cathedral and took graphic pictures of the interior, which then appeared in the social media and *The Press*⁶⁴¹. CERA and the CPT were very alarmed. They maintained the Cathedral was a very dangerous building and these people were putting at risk their own and possibly others’ lives. Accordingly, CTV cameras were installed. In March 2015 two middle aged men, visitors from the North Island, after a ‘night on the town’, were caught coming out of the Cathedral at 3.30am with a lectern, having been detected wandering around the interior⁶⁴². They were charged with burglary, later discharged without conviction when they wrote letters of apology to the Cathedral authorities, offered to apologise in person to the congregation and gave monetary donations to the TC⁶⁴³. The lectern was ‘cleaned up’ by eightytwo-year-old Noel Woods, the person who had carved it and according to him, ‘it came up

⁶⁴⁰ <https://urbexcentral.com/category/christchurch/>, (accessed 20 September 2015).

⁶³⁹ C. Gates, ‘New pictures from inside the Cathedral’, *The Press*, 04 December 2014, www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/.../New-pictures-from-inside-Cathedral, (accessed 21 August 2015).

⁶⁴² J. Dally and C. Gates, ‘Intruders caught on cathedral cameras’, *The Press*, 24 March 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/67484595/intruders-caught-on-cathedral-cameras>, (accessed 21 August 2015).

⁶⁴³ D. Clarkson and C. Gates, ‘Christ Church Cathedral burglary charges dropped’, *The Press*, 20 April 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/67880000/Christ-Church-Cathedral-burglary-charges-dropped>, (accessed 21 August 2015).

nicely', except for some brass-work light covering which was etched by pigeon droppings. The electric light bulb illuminating the stand still worked and so the lectern was in use again in the darkened TC for the 2015 Maundy Thursday service. It now resides in the chancel of this building. I suggest this lectern acts as another artefact that links the past with the present and includes in its history something of the story of the earthquake, the Cathedral damage and the realities of the city since. It will have different meanings for different people, meanings that are fashioned by their experiences of it and by the thoughts and memories that it evokes. As Appadurai et al.⁶⁴⁴ have demonstrated, such 'things' have their own social life as they are enmeshed in the social lives of human actors.

When I asked Woods to tell me about this piece of furniture, he remembered it was carved from American oak. It was commissioned by the Cathedral Chapter around 1995 to honour a very valued member, Ken Elliott, who was retiring through ill health. The furniture's design was suggested by the then Associate Dean, Rev Robyn Cave, copying one she knew of at St Margaret's College Chapel. The furniture was blessed and presented at a Cathedral service, with Elliott and family members present. Ken Elliott worked in an insurance building in Cathedral Square and in the 1970s met the Dean to ask if he could park his car on Cathedral property. Apparently, after this encounter, he was persuaded to go on the governing Cathedral Chapter and gave years of valuable service on that body. Woods confided that, unknown to anyone, he had deposited newspaper clippings and other items of interest between the base and sloping top of the lectern, before screwing the wooden sections together. They are presumably still there and, like a time capsule, may become agents in linking the past with the moment they are 'discovered'⁶⁴⁵.

In considering this lectern, the aspects that really interest me are the number of factors and relationships which underlie this simple piece of church furniture, nearly all elements which are present in my thesis work; for example, as mentioned above, the historical precedence and liturgical necessity and practicality of having a lectern for 'the preaching of the Word'. I have shown how almost everything in the Christ Church Cathedral had a functional or symbolic purpose, the meaning of which often

⁶⁴⁴ Appadurai et al., 1988.

⁶⁴⁵ This cultural practice of depositing memorabilia goes back 5000 years according to Jarvis⁶⁴⁵. Following the earthquakes, three time capsules were unearthed, two from under the fallen statue of John Robert Godley. These were carefully opened by the mayor at the Canterbury Museum and contained old newspapers, council plans and reports and accounts of the various moves of the statue around the Square. The absent was made present through these objects.

had distant historical links. Then there is the significance of an object's aesthetics and the role that plays in its construction and ongoing life, linking it with its artistic creator. In this account of a particular lectern, the connections between such things as cars and their need of parking space, the situation of an insurance company and its staff with their unlikely link to Deans and Chapters can all be discerned. Visible also is the role of systems and mechanisms such as CTV cameras and police surveillance, courtrooms and legal proceedings, requirements for punishment and restitution. Into the mix also go the power of CERA and the liability responsibilities of the CPT. When in the TC with visitors, I enjoy telling them the stories about this little lectern, symbolic of so many relationships, carrying so many traces of the past.

The idea of attaching people to specific objects through a naming and even an imprinting process and then 'enchancing' the object through a ritual of blessing is intriguing. It seems to me that the memory of the person continues to be enacted through the object, for example 'Dad's' chair, Keith Harper's credence table, Ken Elliott's lectern. These absent people are made present through these material traces that remain. This is further amplified in my next two examples.

TUKUTUKU PANELS

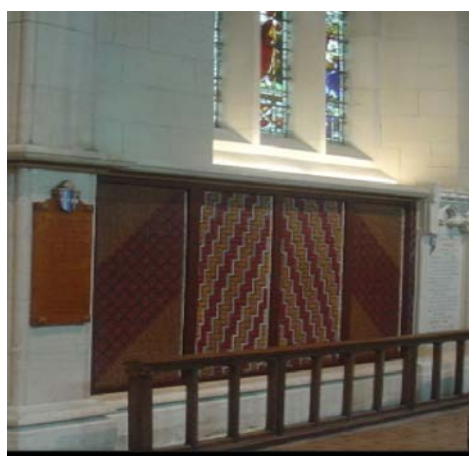


Figure 39a: Tukutuku Panels - in Cathedral
Photo-Paul Harroom



Figure 39b: - in Pyatt guest room
Photo-Patricia Allan

I described in Chapter One how I came to be enquiring about these panels, which were commissioned in memory of former Bishop, the Rt. Rev Allan Pyatt (1916-1991). When I went to his home, Denis Pyatt, son of Bishop Pyatt warmly greeted me. He suggested that we first look at the panels upstairs. The four *tukutuku* panels were lined up, leaning against the wall of a spare bedroom, although Denis said they had first been stored for safety under the double bed. Written permission was given to take and use photographs of these *taonga*. I found it very moving to handle these

valued artefacts, which were surprisingly light. I wondered what would eventually become of them. Alongside the panels were two boards, one the dedication and the other an explanation:

This traditional Maori artwork is made of kie kie (native flax), leather and rimu wood. It was woven and carved by many hands, including the craftsmen of Rolleston Prison, directed by Mae Taurua, a Lay Canon of this Cathedral. Much of the weaving took place here, with worshippers and visitors from many countries, adding their stitches to the design. In that way the artwork celebrates the Maori proverb on the memorial plaque alongside which translates as 'What is the most important thing in life? It is people, people, people.'

As far as Denis knew the panels were commissioned by the Church and definitely not by his parents or their family. Bishop Pyatt and his wife Molly were humble people, who lived by the principle, *He aha te mea nui, he tangata, he tangata, te tangata*.⁶⁴⁶ Denis quoted this Maori proverb three times during the interview. He feels the panels are a very appropriate memorial to his father, because of his interest in *Maoritanga*⁶⁴⁷ and appreciation of Maori.

Initially, Denis was a little reluctant to give details of how the panels were salvaged but after consideration, agreed to tell me⁶⁴⁸. He had received a phone call early one morning, about 6am, around a week after the February earthquake, just after the realisation that there were no bodies under the rubble of the Cathedral tower. A relative of the Pyatt family, a member of the USAR team, had been helping with the search. This man had taken what he could of the panels from their place on the Cathedral wall beside the tower and had them in his car on the way to the Pyatt home. It must be stated that with the continuous aftershocks going on, there was no guarantee that the panels would be safe in the Cathedral. The family felt a bit guilty about having these ostensibly stolen goods in their home and so after a few days Denis rang the Dean who said 'I know what you are ringing about. You have the panels. We know they are in safe hands'.

⁶⁴⁶ A Maori proverb. What is the most important thing in the world? It is the people, it is the people, it is the people.

⁶⁴⁷ *Maoritanga*: The Maori culture, Maori way of life, <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/m%C4%81oritanga>, (accessed 22 November 2015).

⁶⁴⁸ He also gave written permission for this story to be written in the thesis.

This story raises an interesting question about ownership, a question that is reiterated in the Cathedral controversy. The Pyatt family was very clear that the *tukutuku* panels were owned by the Church and yet there is an emotional sense in which they too had a stake in what happened to them. They were later ‘lent’ by the CPT for display in the Quake City exhibition and ‘borrowed’ by the TC for an ordination service in July 2016. This occasion was the first time Maori and Pakeha were ordained together by the Bishop of Christchurch and the Bishop of *Te Tai Tokorau*⁶⁴⁹ (as the Bishop of *Te Wai Pounamu* had died). Thus these panels have become a symbol of another step forward in the Church’s bi-cultural journey. A number of people commented to me after this service that they felt as if the panels had returned home. I was told that efforts were being made to negotiate their permanent return. This updated tale contributes to my arguments about the relational nature of material objects and their trajectories and the emotional responses that they may elicit.

CONCLUSION

This chapter claims that many of the citizens of Christchurch are or have been attached to the Cathedral, often since childhood, for a myriad of reasons. Often the attachment spoken about was to a particular artefact, almost inevitably linked with an experience or particular relationship. Because of the magnitude of other losses that the city has sustained, there is a desire, by what appears to be a sizable group, to use all means possible to hold on to the materiality of the Cathedral, as a reminder of collective history, and personal experiences and relationships. My research also demonstrates that particular material objects are significant aids to the faith and reconstituted worshipping life of the Anglican Cathedral congregation. Thus, as the chapter title suggests, ‘things’, in all their diversity and performances provide the answer to why the Cathedral’s future is so hotly contested.

In the next chapter, the arguments of the thesis are reiterated and summarized.

⁶⁴⁹ *Te Tai Tokorau*: The Northern part of New Zealand.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS – WHY SOCIAL DRAMA?

Social drama is described by Victor Turner⁶⁵⁰ as ‘a sequence of social interactions of a conflictive, competitive or agonistic type’ naming the phases as breach, crisis, redressive actions and reintegration or schism. He shows that what follows from a member of a community breaking a rule - in this case the rule of community consultation and collaboration- is a taking of sides against the transgressor. This is followed by both formal and informal efforts to redress the situation. If these are successful, the situation is resolved but if not, schism occurs. I have shown that in the Cathedral case, the status of the Bishop and the Anglican Church has altered. Supposing Turner’s schema holds true in this case, if the Church turns away from overtures to work with the Government and protagonists to restore the Cathedral and goes ahead with its own plan to demolish the building and construct a new one, then, in my opinion, it will lose its place in the city. The schism will be complete.

This thesis has noted that there are a number of possible reasons for the development of a major civic controversy - a social drama - around what should happen to the earthquake damaged Christ Church Cathedral.

I have shown how prior to the earthquake series, Christchurch was reputedly conservative and somewhat parochial, with a self-appointed elite, often Anglican-educated or descendants of the early land-owning settlers or ‘first four ships’ immigrants. This group appeared to value the ‘Englishness’ of the city’s environs and neo-Gothic architecture, arguing fiercely in the past against any change, such as adding a Visitors’ Centre to the Cathedral, the removal of willows from the banks of the Avon River for the planting of native fauna, or changing the skyline of the Museum. This accounts for my participants’ oft quoted ‘this is Christchurch’ (meaning ferociously combative) or implicating ‘the old boys’ network,’ when asked the reason for the controversy. The influence of this amorphous group is now being contested. Over the past few decades there have been other shifts going on in the city, such as the intensifying role of *Ngāi Tahu* (see Appendix) who now claim the largest business interests in the South Island. The city’s population is becoming increasingly multi-cultural. In a recent book, Pickles envisioned a rebuilt city with

respect for all peoples, regardless of race or ethnicity, and regardless of length of residency in the city; a safe city that adequately cares for its citizens and that

⁶⁵⁰ Turner, 1988, p.33.

*turns its back on fear and repression; a just and inclusive future that moves beyond solitude and separate identities*⁶⁵¹.

Tierney and Oliver-Smith stress the need for a multi-dimensional approach in considering earthquake response and recovery and argue for a recognition of broad global and societal trends, so that not only pre-disaster factors and immediate disaster impact and response are factored in but also:

*post-disaster variables such as the quality of governance systems; institutional capacity; civil society-state relationships; systems of social provision; the appropriateness, coverage, and equity of recovery aid; and post-disaster conditions, trends and events that occur independently of disasters but that also shape recovery processes and outcomes*⁶⁵².

Throughout this project I have sought this kind of approach, by weaving the Cathedral controversy within its historical, post-colonial and political contexts. As Turner would also suggest, my study shows how a local debate can be intrinsically intertwined with global issues, which include in this case:

- the heritage crusade as outlined by Lowenthal⁶⁵³ with the authorised heritage debate as proposed by Smith⁶⁵⁴ and the dissonance produced, as demonstrated by Tunbridge and Ashworth⁶⁵⁵ and Bender and Winer⁶⁵⁶. Engineering experts have agreed that the Cathedral can be restored. Because of New Zealand's heritage laws following ICOMOS, restoration may be the outcome⁶⁵⁷.
- the diminishing role of Western Christianity with the post-colonial shift in the positioning of the Anglican Church and the world-wide theological debates threatening to split it apart.

⁶⁵¹ K. Pickles, *Christchurch Ruptures*, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.169f.

⁶⁵² K. Tierney and Anthony Oliver-Smith, 'Social Dimensions of Disaster Recovery,' *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters*, 2012, Vol. 30, No. 2, p. 123.

⁶⁵³ D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

⁶⁵⁴ L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, London, Routledge, 2006.

⁶⁵⁵ J. Tunbridge and G. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: the management of the past as a resource in conflict*, Chichester, J. Wiley. 1996.

⁶⁵⁶ Bender, B. and M. Winer (eds.), *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, Oxford, London, Berg, 2001.

⁶⁵⁷ Following Miriam Deans's, 'Report of facilitated discussions with engineers from Church Property Trustees and Great Christchurch Building Trust on engineering options for repair, restoration or replacement of Christchurch Cathedral,' in July 2016, the Government set up a panel of five people representing the CPR and GCBT to agree on a way forward. Their recommendations will come after the completion of my thesis.

- the international trend of cities to mark themselves out as being in some way different, often demonstrated through particular buildings⁶⁵⁸.

The Cathedral was a major unifying symbol of Christchurch city. Utilising Ortner's work, I have shown the signifying and elaborating power of this building, both before and after the earthquake series. Recognition of the past is needed for people to move into a hopeful future, so that the Cathedral became the symbol of the past and also a symbol of the earthquake and aftermath. Some see its restoration as essential to the future Christchurch.

It is clear that the social field of the city of Christchurch was deeply disturbed by an ongoing earthquake sequence, with several specific institutions involved in this controversy. These are the Anglican Church; CERA, the agent of Central Government; CCC, which claims to speak for 'the city', the groups opposing the Church's decision to deconstruct the building, particularly the GCBT and Heritage New Zealand (formerly the Historic Places Trust). Each, with their own actors and 'field', have been shown to have particular social, cultural, educational and economic capital, seeking to exercise power in different ways, be it political, economic or ecclesiastical. Interwoven within the network of institutional relationships is the community of experts, particularly seismological engineers, actuaries, architects, lawyers and judges, each utilised by both sides in the dispute.

The main human actors have been introduced, with the groups that they lead and speak for. I have named in particular Anglican Bishop, Victoria Matthews, Minister for Earthquake Recovery, Gerry Brownlee and GCBT co-leaders, Jim Anderton and Philip Burdon. Others, such as former Dean Peter Beck, the Wizard and Sir Miles Warren have also played significant roles in the controversy. The personal history, style, gender, age and personality of each of these actors, as well as their actual actions which are influenced by all these particulars, means that all, individually and collectively impact the dispute.

Of singular significance is the location of the Cathedral in the city's central square, which for many years has been a contested and constantly changing space. The Cathedral is also considered 'old' in what is termed a 'young' country, meaning its role in the colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand by Britain and its place in the construction of tradition. The human need for a solid sense of place, in this case

⁶⁵⁸ B. Graham, 'Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?', *Urban Studies*, 2002, vol. 39, nos 5–6, pp. 1003–1017.

severely tested for many by the earthquakes, is a large underlying factor in this controversy.

From the beginning, it is obvious that politics, local and national, informal and formal, have played a key role in this saga, being used to influence attitudes, actions and decision-making. Throughout, economics have also been significant, with one of the central arguments being the cost of restoration versus the cost of a new building. The Church's ethical dilemma was the question of spending a large amount of money on one building, especially when so many others of its churches were destroyed. Protesters' proven ability to raise money was a powerful argument in their favour and the Church's refusal of their offers caused bewilderment and hurt. Another economic consideration is the significant role the Cathedral had in the promotion of heritage tourism and its economic benefits to the city. Without doubt, as will be seen throughout this work, the political-economic arguments cannot be disregarded. However, I have chosen to concentrate on the role of meaning in this thesis because that, in my opinion, encapsulates the various other discourses at play in this drama and best answers my research question of why the issue is controversial.

Clarke invites a naming of non-human actants in her helpful work on situational analysis⁶⁵⁹. In this case, apart from 'the earth doing what the earth does', and the ongoing destructive effects of pigeons, rodents and the weather, I suggest the agency of various inscriptions. These include Acts of Parliament, (e.g. Section 38, Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act), ICOMOS New Zealand Charter, institutional documents (e.g. Court judgments; CERA's files released, the Church's withheld); photographs and videos (e.g. demolition of the Cathedral tower, drone footage of the Cathedral interior). In my opinion, the TC also acts symbolically, its very architecture being a break with the past and a redefinition of the Church's place in the city, begging the question of transition to what?

Bishop Matthews argues strongly for safety, both of workers in the building and of visitors to any future building. Her second argument is economic, as outlined above. Thirdly is the concern for the ongoing liturgical requirements of the Church. The Cathedral had a number of disadvantages, such as poor acoustics, vision lines and flexibility, making it less than 'fit for purpose', as Booth⁶⁶⁰ has argued. Minister Brownlee, also concerned with human safety, was responsible for the initial decision

⁶⁵⁹ A. Clarke, *Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn*, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage, 2005.

⁶⁶⁰ K. Booth, 'A Place to be Church', *Unpublished paper*, Christchurch, 2014.

to demolish the building, a requirement later modified to 'make safe'. Politically, the decision was then left to the building's owners, the CPT, though later there has been Central Government intervention as outlined above. The need to recognise the separation of Church and State is one of the underlying discourses. Anderton and Burdon have marshalled the heritage and symbolic arguments, such as the importance of built heritage, along with the significance of place, memory and identity in the lives of traumatised people. They have also argued for a decision based on their interpretation of the public opinion evidenced in various polls. Their alternative engineering advice has proved to be very significant.

Several other discourses were evident from my research. Figuring prominently is the question of ownership. The Cathedral is a private building, owned by the CPT and thus protected as such under longstanding legal agreements. However, there are other factors. It is located as a landmark in the centre of the city; it contains much of the constructed colonial history of the city in the form of artefacts; it has been the venue of significant cultural and memorial events; it has been marketed as 'the heart and soul of the city' and 'our place'; for some it is a sacred space; ratepayers have contributed considerably to its upkeep which in my opinion strengthens the claim that they should have some say in its future. Thus there is a strong argument for moral and psychological ownership by others, often in argument named as 'the city'.

There have been subversive discourses that suggest levels of misogyny and xenophobia, such as: 'what is a Canadian woman doing telling us what to do with our cathedral?' Others questioned the bishop's leadership style, which was viewed as autocratic or hierarchical. Other subversive discourses would include the increasing secular nature of society and the perceived diminishing role of Christianity.

It would be possible to strongly argue that the future of the Cathedral is a controversial issue because of any combination of the above factors. However, at its most basic, as one of my participants said, it is controversial because the Church wants to pull it down. Why the Church would want to do that can be traced to pragmatic, economic and theological considerations. That decision is controversial because powerful groups of people believe that it should be completely restored. Why? Because, it is claimed, it is central to the foundational myths of the city, it is the city's heritage and patrimony and is thus bound up with the identity and wellbeing of the population, whose ontological security was badly shaken by the earthquake disaster.

I return to Blumer's three basic premises of symbolic interaction⁶⁶¹ to fill out my selected argument that along with political and economic constructions, this is a contest of meaning.

1. *Human beings act towards things on the basis of the meaning that the things have for them.* I have demonstrated the variety of meanings constructed for the Cathedral, and have shown the levels of attachment that many people displayed for the building and its contents. I have argued that 'things matter', a primary premise of material culture. For a variety of reasons shaped by experiences and social relationships, people become attached to material objects and in turn these things shape individual and collective identity. This underpins my conclusion that this is a contest of meaning.

The bishop's words and actions were interpreted by protesters as cruel and disrespectful, when she appeared to dismiss the constructions and passions of 'the unchurched' or 'Anglican atheists' and indicated that the Church was not in the museum business. Blumer has added 'to bypass the meaning in favor of factors alleged to produce the behavior is seen as a grievous neglect of the role of meaning in the formation of behavior' ⁶⁶². Thus, my argument is that the reason for the controversy is not so much a contest of power, as a contest of meaning and this has not been fully appreciated by the Church; or at least other people's meanings have been counted as insubstantial.

2. *The meaning of such things is derived from or arises out of the social interaction one has with one's fellows.* Throughout the thesis I have shown how the variety of meanings that people have for the Cathedral or its artefacts can be traced to their human relationships, personal histories and personalities. Furthermore, I have demonstrated throughout how meaning affects social interaction.
3. *These meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things encountered.* The meaning of the Cathedral continues to be interpreted in many different ways. The controversy around its future has now become part of its meaning. I suggest that currently for developers, it is the 'holder up' of progress in the inner city; for the CCC

⁶⁶¹ H. Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall, 1969, p. 2.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

and CERA it is a political nightmare; for the CPT it is massive headache: and for the protesters it is a potential trophy of war.

The 'once' Cathedral remains in liminal space, betwixt and between. The curtain has not come down on the drama. The actors remain in role and the machinations continue. No one is satisfied – indeed most are fed-up and it seems that no one now knows what to do. The 'future' Cathedral remains a mystery, completely unknown.

APPENDIX ONE: TREATY PARTNERSHIP

Samuel Marsden, an English missionary stationed in Australia was invited by *Nga Puhi*⁶⁶³ leader Ruatara in 1814 to evangelise Maori in northern New Zealand. This mission bore considerable fruit as mission stations were established. I have noted that the role of Maori within the Anglican Church has been evolving since the 1970's Maori renaissance, when the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi was beginning to be recognised nationally. Within the Cathedral, there were efforts to incorporate more a sense of this bicultural partnership by such things as a weekly *te reo service*, *te reo* used in Sunday worship and various artefacts displayed, such as the tukutuku panels, Tamihana's statue and a panel inscribed with the Lord's prayer in Maori. But one participant said:

I would be interested to know what the Maori view would be if you are siting in the centre of the city something that is so English...void of who we are. Because the Cathedral was. And we did change with things like tukutuku panels. It was still an English cathedral in the centre of the city...It would be interesting if you tried to build a building that is new...not replacing a cathedral...but if you came up now with an idea to build that kind of building in the centre of Ngāi Tahu's rohi⁶⁶⁴ and have them say 'it doesn't look like anything to do with us'.

I suggest that space within the Square is already being claimed in part by Maori. I use two examples. Maori architects in designing the columbarium made this clear, as noted by Hoddinott:

For Royal Associates, their Maori background ensures that spirituality and meaning play a significant role in the design of any project. The result for the Cathedral has been a design that expresses a complex, layered set of narratives describing the presence of human activity in Christchurch over the last 150 years. Yet the architects have also instilled the now "intangible" past events of arrival and departure into the structural details of today. This links Maori, Anglican, and European stories and connects the visitor within an evolutionary journey that goes beyond western society's limited concept of time. Spiritual imagery used to inspire and construct the design concept expands this timeframe to offer loved ones and visitors comfort and hope that lasts beyond the timeframe of 150 years⁶⁶⁵.

⁶⁶³ *Nga Puhi*: Most northern New Zealand tribe

⁶⁶⁴ *Rohe*: boundary, district, region, territory, area, border (of land)
<http://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?&keywords=rohe>, (accessed 12 June 2016).

⁶⁶⁵ W. Hoddinott, 'Christ Church Cathedral Columbarium', School of Landscape Architecture, Lincoln University, unpublished essay, 2004.

The other example is the *wharenui*- style viewing place in the hording surrounding the damaged Cathedral. *Ngāi Tahu* artists, Chris Heaphy and Sara Hughes were invited by the City Council to create engaging artworks for the re-opened Cathedral Square.

Heaphy has created a 'contemporary whare' that forms a visual link to the physical, cultural and spiritual life of Ngāi Tahu and to the Anglican Church. Through his plant-covered 'whare,' we are also reminded of the early kāinga nohoanga, Puāri, a major mahinga kai (customary food gathering place), which occupied the nearby banks of the Ōtākaro (Avon) River. His vibrant hoardings draw inspiration from the Cathedral's famous Rose Window and follow his practice of addressing questions about culture and identity⁶⁶⁶.



Figure 40: Heaphy's 'planted whare' in front of vibrant hoardings.

Placards near the viewing place detail early *Ngāi Tahu* connections with the Anglican Church in Canterbury and with the Cathedral. The current reality is that following their financial Treaty settlement, *Ngāi Tahu* have become a powerful cultural and economic force in the region but the problem for the Anglican Church is that *Ngāi Tahu* are not part of the *Pihopitanga* (that is the *Tikanga* Maori section of the tripartite church) and because of their history, according to one of my participants: 'have been very staunch supporters of the Cathedral. They have been quite strongly supportive...a lot of them...because of the traditional ties of Ngai Tahu to the Anglican church.' However, apart from one alternative plan for the Cathedral site by Danish architects claimed to be under consideration by *Ngāi Tahu*⁶⁶⁷, I have not heard of any consultation with *Ngāi Tahu*.

⁶⁶⁶ Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (website), Transitional artworks enliven Cathedral Square, http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our_stories/transitional-artworks-enliven-cathedral-square/, (accessed 01 July 2015).

⁶⁶⁷ G. Stylianau, 'Iwi considers living cathedral,' The Press, 13 September 2014 <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/10494382/iwi-considers-living-cathedral>, (accessed 13 June 2015).

APPENDIX TWO: MEMBERSHIP OF PARTICIPANTS

Partici pamt	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	MEMBERSHIP
1									A: Anglican
2									B: Cathedral Worshipper
3									C: Cathedral Staff
4									D: Church decision bodies
5									E: Media
6									F: Protesting bodies
7									G: Politicians
8									Former member
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